FORUM

Vol. CIV, No. 4

TEACHING THE FUTURE
Ossip K. Flechtheim

PLANNING FOR FREEDOM
Mark Starr

THE SOVIET UNION AND EUROPE
Michael T. Florinsky

SOLDIERS OR TRAINEES?
T. H. Thomas

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Editor D. G. REDMOND

Associate Editor CAROL THOMPSON

Assistant Editor CHARLOTTE E. BRAUN

Editorial Assistants

ALICE R. CRAEMER
MARJORIE FOULKROD
ALICE B. McGINTY
MARY KATHARINE STRONG

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FORUM

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Vol. CIV DECEMBER, 1945 No. 4

Communism follows the Red flag in Europe

The Soviet Union and Europe

By Michael T. Florinsky

Professor of Economics, Columbia University

UNDER the terms of the Potsdam agreement, conferences of the foreign ministers of the five leading Powers are to chart the course of world affairs. The blatant failure of the first of these conferences held in London last September has focused public attention on the unpalatable fact, long known to students of foreign relations, that the cooperation of the "United Nations" in rebuilding a tolerable human society from the wreckage of the war is an infinitely more difficult task than was the co-ordination of their efforts for the defeat of the common enemy. This statement is, of course, a mere truism: I know of no major coalition in history that would have outlived its immediate object.

Times, however, have changed. World War II has reduced to rubble much of the treasured heritage of mankind and has rocked to its foundation the political, economic and social structure of Continental Europe, Asia and the Far East. Confronted with new and cruel methods of warfare and with formidable instruments of destruction unknown to a less enlightened age, thinking men and women in every country are searching for a way to prevent the recurrence, on an infinitely larger scale, of the dreaded conflagration. A close understanding among the principal Powers is generally recognized as the sole real safeguard of peace. It would be idle to minimize the divergency of interests, real or imaginary, which separate Washington, London and Paris. With these issues, none of them insoluble, I am not concerned here, nor shall I discuss the special problems of China, whose presence among the Big Five is something of an anomaly. The stumbling-block of the London conversations was the unbending attitude of the Soviet Union, and although the conference broke down, ostensibly, on a question of procedure, the resulting diplomatic impasse is clearly a manifestation of the basic conflict between the Soviet and what may be called the "Western" concept of the post-war world.

After the German attack on Russia in 1941, the Kremlin, like the western Powers, never tired of pro-

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claiming its devotion to the cause of international cooperation but, unlike Washington and London, insisted that its participation in international activities should be strictly on its own terms. Moscow, no doubt, has made concessions, but they invariably bear on relatively minor points and do not affect what may be regarded as the fundamental principle of Soviet foreign policy: preservation of complete freedom of action and prevention of any effective interference on the part of international bodies with the decisions arrived at by Soviet leaders. Failure at Dumbarton Oaks and San Francisco was staved off only by making heavy sacrifices of principle to the Soviet point of view, sacrifices that might well have fatally jeopardized the none-too-promising future of the United Nations Organization. As the veil of mystery shrouding the conferences of the Big Three is being gradually lifted, it becomes increasingly clear that a similar course was followed at Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam. The refusal of Byrnes and Bevin fully to meet Moscow's wishes led to the London deadlock.

In Europe and in the Near East the area where the policies of the Soviet Union clash with those of the United States and Great Britain stretches from the Baltic to the Persian Gulf. The methods used by Moscow in extending its influences are annexations of territories formerly held by other states (a procedure incompatible with the obligation assumed by the signatories of the Atlantic Charter not to seek "territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned") and the establishment in other states of "friendly" governments controlled by the Kremlin through local communist parties and maintained in office by the Red Army.

These activities are viewed with alarm by a large body of European and American opinion and create awkward problems for the governments of the western nations which consider themselves bound by the official war-time pronouncements of their leaders. Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, incorporated in the U.S.S.R. in 1940, are still recognized by Washington as independent states. The Russians are at odds with the British and Americans in Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Hungary and Greece. Much friction has developed in setting up the inter-allied administration of Austria and Germany. There is profound uneasiness regarding Soviet policies in Iran and Moscow's demand for the control of the Dardanelles and, more recently, for a share of Italian colonies in Africa.

SECURITY, IMPERIALISM AND REVOLUTION

Cooperation between Moscow and the capitalist Powers is hindered by the difficulty in interpreting with any degree of assurance the real motives behind the Soviet moves. The Kremlin has shown marked reluctance to take other members of the anti-German coalition into its confidence and has all but excluded foreign observers from the vast territories under its control. Secrecy breeds suspicion, for whatever generous explanation one may choose to put on Soviet reticence, the conclusion would seem to be inescapable

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hat, in the final analysis, it is due to he desire to prevent the outside vorld from knowing what is taking place behind the iron curtain of Soviet occupation.

There is, moreover, another and more fundamental reason for the tate of uncertainty concerning Soviet political objectives. The U.S. S.R. appears in the field of international relations in a dual capacity. On the one hand, she is a great national and, in recent years, strongly nationalistic power, heir to the historical tradition of the Russian Empire; on the other, she is the eader of the international proletariat, the spearhead of the communist novement definitely and irrevocably ommitted to the promotion of world evolution. The question to be decided is whether Moscow's expanionist policies are inspired by old-ashioned nationalism and imperialsm or by what may be called revoluionary dynamism, which aims at the verthrow of the capitalist system.

The official Soviet reason for annexations and the domination of neighboring states is the need for security. In the light of recent developments this theory, which received vide publicity and gained quasi-general acceptance during the war, arries little conviction. The technical inventions of the last few years, ast long-distance planes, rocket bombs and last but not least, the tomic bomb, suggest that the addition of some thousands of square niles to a nation's territory adds ittle, if anything, to its security. If he U.S.S.R., the largest state in the vorld, requires territorial cushioning as a protection against aggression, what are we to say about the need for security of the less fortunately situated countries? The security theory is palpably untenable unless we assume that the U.S.S.R. is the only "peace-loving" state in the midst of "aggressors," an assumption refuted by the entire course of Russian and Soviet history.

Imperialism, that is, territorial aggrandizement and the establishment of spheres of influence in order to fulfill a country's "historical destiny" (whatever that may mean), to satisfy national *amour propre,* and to safeguard what is deemed to be national interest, is undoubtedly a force behind the Soviet moves. Imperialistic and nationalistic motives are clearly discernible in the annexation of the Baltic states, Bessarabia and Eastern Poland—all formerly part of the Russian Empire, and in the extension of Soviet influence among the Baltic Slavs. Soviet imperialism, however, blends almost imperceptibly with revolutionary dynamism. The countries annexed by Moscow are "freed" from the shackles of the bourgeois system, and those under Soviet control are clearly heading in the same direction. Barring unforeseen developments, the establishment of communist regimes in the states of eastern Europe under the domination of the Kremlin would seem to be merely a matter of time.

I must emphasize again that the advancement of world revolution is the avowed ultimate object of communism. The charter of the Communist (Third) International (1919) provides that "the Communist International has for its purpose the struggle by all available means, including armed force, for the over-

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throw of the international bourgeoisie and the creation of an international Soviet republic. . . . ." This aim has not been and could not be repudiated by the communist leaders, just as no Christian Church could reject the dogma of eternal salvation. Soviet interest in the advancement of world revolution, however, has not been uniformly sustained; there have been long periods when international revolutionary activities were definitely relegated to the background.

The ebb and flow of communist agitation is epitomized in the history of the congresses of the Third International. They met annually from 1919 to 1922, when revolutionary enthusiasm in Moscow was at its height; the fifth congress assembled in 1924; the sixth, in 1928; the seventh and last, in 1935. In 1943, under the strong pressure of the western Allies, backed by the flow of lend-lease supplies, the Communist International dissolved itself. According to the official announcement, the International had "outgrown" its usefulness and had "even become a drag on the further strengthening of the national working-class parties." There was, of course, nothing in the act of dissolution to suggest, even by implication, that communism had renounced its basic tenet—the advancement of world revolution.

REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION, 1945

The physical destruction and economic and social upheaval wrought in Europe by World War II has injected new strength into revolutionary dynamism. It is accepted communist theory that revolutions grow out of imperialistic wars and that it is the duty of the revolutionary parties to take advantage of a "revolutionary situation." The imposition of the communist system by force of arms may not fit into the Marxian pattern, but it serves well its immediate purpose, while the wiping out by resolute revolutionary minority of all opposition is entirely in agreement with Lenin's teaching. This is what the Soviets have done in the territories they have annexed since 1940 and what they appear to be doing in the countries now under their occupation. "De-nazification" offers an admirable pretext for the wholesale elimination of all proprietary, political and professional groups inimical to the communist regime. Soviet-occupied Germany and Austria, we are told, are diligently denuded of industrial equipment, food supplies, and even household goods and chattels. Some seven million Germans have been summarily evicted from the eastern provinces of Germany which have been handed over to Poland and Russia under the Potsdam decisions, thus contributing to the economic and social chaos in the American, British and French zones of the Reich.

Desperation born of destitution and utter helplessness create a fertile ground for the establishment of communist totalitarian dictatorship which, moreover, are imposed by Moscow regardless of the wishes of the population. "The Communist party of Germany holds a majority of strategic posts in the Berlin *Magistrat* and in the administration of the Berlin municipalities," wrote General Eisenhower in his report to August to the Chief of Staff. "In formal reports indicate that a fai

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and impartially supervised election in Berlin would not support the present Communist party dominance. . . ." This statement would hold true for the other regions over which Soviet-sponsored communist and semi-communist regimes wield unlimited power.

General Eisenhower's discovery is not likely to impress the Kremlin. Stalin stated in 1936 that the new Soviet constitution, held officially as the only truly democratic constitution in the world, "leaves in force the regime of the dictatorship of the working class" exercised through the Communist party, which numbered in 1939 less than 2,500,000 members (including some 900,000 "candidates," or members on probation), or less than one and a half per cent of the population. The U.S.S.R. holds a high place among the United Nations. Why should the benefits of Soviet "democracy" be denied to the states liberated from the Nazi yoke?

THE OUTLOOK

If the above analysis is correct, it will appear that the situation confronting the western world in its dealings with the Soviets is essentially different from the traditional game of power politics. Assuming that the establishment of communist totalitarian dictatorships in central and eastern Europe is not in the interest of the European Powers and the United States, the question arises whether some positive steps should and could be taken to check Soviet ambitions. The answer, in my opinion, is in the negative.

The Soviet Union, in spite of the dreadful devastation she has suffered, is today in an exceptionally strong

Alexander in *The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*

OUT OF BOUNDS

international position. Her strength is not due to any intrinsic merit of the communist system or to the valor of the Red Army, but to the general breakdown of accepted standards in Europe and the patent inability of Moscow's potential opponents to resist aggressive policies. China is not a factor in European affairs. Germany has been reduced to total impotence and will probably not recover for years to come. France is in the throes of an acute political and economic crisis. England, greatly enfeebled by the war and beset by immense difficulties at home and abroad, is not in a position to break with her principal European ally. The United States, although relatively unscathed by the war, is in no mood for foreign adventures and thinks chiefly of speedy demobilization, removal of remaining war-time controls, lower taxes and a return to "normalcy."

But if the Americans are eager to go home, the Russians are prepared to stay on indefinitely. Many

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of them are probably less uncomfortable in shattered Berlin or Budapest than they would be in their own devastated towns and villages, nor is there in the Soviet Union an organized public opinion to exert pressure on the government. Every shipload of cheering American troops that sails home from the bleak shores of "liberated" Europe strengthens the hand of the Soviet government.

The United States, some observers believe, has two powerful weapons which could be used to bring pressure on the Soviets: credits and the atomic bomb. The U.S.S.R. is unquestionably in great need of financial assistance; yet it is most unlikely that she would accept, in exchange for loans, an effective control over her freedom of action or would sell her revolutionary birthright for a mess of U. S. dollars. War-like measures not being seriously considered in any responsible quarters, the bargaining value of the atomic bomb is slight, even if the secret of its manufacture could be indefinitely withheld. Menacing gestures unsupported by the determination to take action are worse than useless. To put it bluntly, there is next to nothing the United States and Great Britain could do to influence Moscow's policies. Making a virtue of necessity, therefore, events should be allowed to run their course in the hope that the forcible imposition of communist totalitarianism will eventually prove a source of weakness, not of strength, to the aggressor, even though the Soviet's terrifying efficiency in eradicating opposition offers little ground for optimism. There is also the faint possibility of basic changes in Soviet leadership and ideology, but this is thus far purely wishful thinking.

The conclusion arrived at is avowedly lame and unsatisfactory. But what is the alternative? Would any sane and responsible person surveying the shambles of Europe in 1945 advocate an ideological or preventive war "to make the world safe for democracy?"

WHEN A FELON'S NOT ENGAGED . . .

• Three months after a Buffalo man had his car stolen, the police recovered it for him with these improvements: Straightened fenders, a new paint job, a new fuel pump, a new leak proof gasket for the engine head, and a reconditioned tire.

• One car thief discovered that being caught can be a very dangerous business. In Columbus, Indiana, it was discovered by the police that the man had been using the car for two months to shuttle back and forth between two wives.

• A brand new children's swing outfit was too much for one thief. It mysteriously disappeared from a home in Kansas City, and a few days later the family heard a commotion in the yard. Investigation revealed a man unloading the swing, still in its original wrappings.

"This your swing?" the man asked. "Yes." "Well, it's caused me a lot of trouble. I'm bringing it back," he said, and drove away.

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The forgotten man comes out on the short end

The Little Men's Taxes

By Alzada Comstock

Professor of Economics, Mount Holyoke College

THE small people of this country have a dim and uneasy sense that they have been pushed around by the makers of the interim tax bill which made its way through the House and Senate in the autumn of 1945. The immediate past was confused but vivid. Out of their swollen war incomes they had for the first time in their lives paid income taxes, bumped against heavy excises on "luxury" goods which they considered necessities, and stuck five-dollar stickers on cars the operation of which was already a maintenance and rationing problem. Service men, more of whom had been outside of the country than ever before, were uncertain about their own tax obligations in either the war or the post-war world.

When post-war tax relief came into view the small taxpayers were at no point able to speak effectively for themselves, in spite of the aid of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and 14 other organizations which attacked the tax bill throughout its course. Actually their best advocate was Secretary of the Treasury Fred M. Vinson himself, who had in mind their situation as it affected the national economy when he appeared before the Senate Finance Committee in October.

Mr. Vinson was urging the repeal of the three per cent tax on "normal" incomes, a proposal of his own which was already slated for defeat. He argued that the change would make an important contribution to the functioning of the national economy in the reconversion period just after the end of the war.

"We cannot ignore," he said, "important deflationary factors that will be present. In the process of reconversion a shrinkage of income is inevitable. Purchasing power is cut by reductions in overtime pay, by movement from high-paid war jobs and by unemployment. To resist the resulting downward pull on the economy calls for tax relief to the lower income groups who bore the brunt of the changeover from war to peace. The repeal of the 'normal' tax is one of the best forms of tax reduction for maintaining mass purchasing power."

Stating the argument positively, the Treasury took the point of view that small taxpayers should receive the largest proportional benefits. In this way consumer-spending would be stimulated and a broad and dependable market provided for American manufactures.

Mr. Vinson also emphasized the criterion of justice in his advocacy of the repeal of the three per cent "normal" tax. This tax, which in an earlier incarnation was the emergency "Victory" tax, in his opinion

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violated the fundamental principle of the income tax according to which tax burdens should be adjusted in accordance with family responsibilities. He insisted that in the average situation a family of four should not be called upon in time of peace to pay taxes on two-thirds or any other part of its net income, nor should a family of six or seven pay as much as a family of four with the same income, as the existing tax structure demanded.

As the congressional discussion of interim tax legislation went on through the weeks, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the National Lawyers' Guild, the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, the National Catholic Welfare Council and 11 other organizations became so dissatisfied with the way the wind blew and with the House version of the tax bill in particular that they prepared and offered to the Senate Finance Committee an eight-point substitute program. This program would eliminate, according to its proponents, the huge windfalls given to the corporations that made the biggest profits during the war and the special benefits to the individuals with the highest incomes.

SUGGESTED TAX REVISION

According to these proposals, tax revision should follow the following rules: it should provide the government with adequate revenues for the gigantic tasks of human and industrial demobilization; it should have the aim of bolstering purchasing power and combatting the deflationary pressures generated by mass layoffs of war workers and discharges of millions of war veterans; and it should be thoroughly grounded on the principle of ability to pay.

The organizations' tax program was therefore devised to cover the following demands:

1. Repeal the "grossly unfair" three per cent normal tax which is applied at a flat rate to all levels of taxable income without regard for family status and the number of dependents. This would free from taxation some 12,000,000 persons whose income is so low that they are not subject to surtax. About four-fifths of the relief would go to families earning less than $5,000 a year. Treasury loss would be about $2,000,000,000.

2. Increase exemptions for single individuals to $1,000 and for married couples to $2,000 while maintaining existing credits of $500 for children and dependents.

3. Permit individuals to have the privilege already enjoyed by corporations of carrying back or forward that portion of their personal exemptions and credits that is not used in the current taxable year.

4. Forgive income taxes up to $250 for veterans from 1941 to the date of their discharge and grant equivalent refunds to veterans who have already paid their taxes.

5. Aid small business by granting an exemption of $5,000 from the corporate income tax, lowering existing rates for corporate enterprises with net incomes below $100,000 and giving such small corporations the option of being taxed as partnerships.

6. Retain the excess profits tax until January 1, 1947. "Even with the excess profits tax," the authors observe, "corporations in 1946 will

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make profits after taxes of more than $8,000,000,000, which is about 100 per cent more than their profits after taxes in 1939."

7. Eliminate the automobile use tax and reduce or abolish war-time excises on items of mass consumption. The tax saving of about $500,000,000 would primarily increase the purchasing power of low-income families.

8. Curb inflationary speculation in securities, real estate and farm land by extending the holding period for long-term capital assets to at least 36 months. Tax as ordinary income the gains from the sale of capital assets held less than 36 months.

These recommendations may have had some influence on the subsequent course of the tax bill, for the voting power behind the organizations involved is considerable. At the same time, however, members of both houses were exposed to pressure from the opposite direction; that is, from the upper income groups. In general these groups were opposed to the abolition of the three per cent normal tax or to any equivalent method of freeing millions of taxpayers at this end of the scale. Instead, a straight 20 or 10 per cent cut from top to bottom was the method preferred.

Comments on the ability and obligation of other economic groups to pay taxes always have a certain amusement value, serious as the subject undeniably is. A considerable number of editorial writers emphasized the danger of freeing 12,000,000 taxpayers from income taxes on the ground that they would then lose interest in how Congress spends the public's money, forgetting that this

From *The Atlanta Constitution*
"A Little Too Rich for the Blood, Uncle"

interest has not always been welcomed.

Persons of another school of thought, those who believe that budget-balancing is an issue of first importance, criticized the various bills and proposals for tax relief for unsuitability to national needs. Senator George, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, was one of these. As the work on the tax bill approached completion, he said that he regretted that both houses had agreed to relieve some 12,000,000 persons from income taxes in 1946. "I do not believe that any one should be removed from the tax rolls at this time," he said. "I believe that this is definitely inflationary, and that narrowing the base of income tax payments so drastically is unwise. But my opinion is very much in the minority on the committee."

When the conference committee finished its work on the House and

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Senate bills, concessions to influential economic and political groups were in evidence at every point. The elimination of the three per cent normal tax was a lost cause, but instead about 12,000,000 taxpayers were eliminated by substituting the surtax exemption of $500 for each member of the taxpayer's family, including himself, for the single $500 exemption under the former "normal" tax. Upper bracket incomes were relieved by reducing the rate in each surtax bracket by three percentage points and by reducing the amount of tax due by an additional five per cent. The excess profits tax was repealed and corporation income taxes reduced.

The much-criticized war excise taxes were left as they were, which means that they will automatically disappear six months after the end of hostilities is officially declared. The automobile use tax, which was yielding only $140,000,000, was repealed.

The C.I.O. and the organizations affiliated with it in the tax campaign at once issued a statement criticizing the bill. They said that the final version "granted even more concessions to the biggest corporations and richest individuals than either the House or the Senate bill" and that the measure "gave tax relief to those who needed it least." The bill deprived the Treasury of nearly $1,000,000,000 more in revenue than the Secretary of the Treasury had recommended and was to that extent even less satisfactory to those who advocated a speedy return to a balanced budget.

Throughout the discussion of federal taxation in the interim or reconversion period there has been little analysis of the effect of the old and the new taxes upon the small taxpayer. At the other end of the scale the situation is different. Elaborate analyses have been made, by friend and foe, of the precise effects of excess profits taxes upon large and small business. Results may differ, but at least the attempt has been made.

Taxes at the worker-consumer level have been less carefully dissected. Comparisons of taxes on small taxpayers with those on large have been carried to the point of vituperation. Lip-service has been paid to the principle of ability to pay. But even the C.I.O., with its excellent research services and the adherence of the Lawyers' Guild, failed to probe very far into the economic implications of its substitute program for the lower income groups.

PURCHASING POWER

Fragmentary comments on the extent to which savings accumulated in the war period, if not required to be spent for taxes, will be used for the purchase of goods in the postwar months, have been the mainstay of the advocates of tax relief at the lower levels. This and the other arguments in support of worker-consumer tax relief were well and briefly expressed in "Reconversion Taxes," the *New Republic's* leading article on October 8, 1945, as follows:

> "Granted that a [tax] reduction is to be made, to what elements in the community should it provide relief? Aside from any question of social justice, it is clearly necessary to enlarge the purchasing

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power of those at the lower end of the income scale if we are to stimulate markets and enlarge employment opportunity. It is here that the preponderance of individual consumers is found. It is here also that purchasing power is most affected by unemployment and the reduction of earnings. People with relatively large incomes already can buy enough to satisfy their consumption needs without any tax relief at all. . . .

Another of Mr. Vinson's proposals would also favor those in the lower income brackets and stimulate sales of goods. This is the repeal of the excise taxes imposed during the war. These, of course are sales taxes which raised the price to consumers without regard to the size of their incomes."

This is one of the happier statements of the small taxpayer's case. But questions are still untouched which, if answered, might have lessened the sense of confusion which pervaded the debates on the interim tax bill. What is the relation of tax relief in the lower brackets to the demands for increased wages which are agitating the citizens of the United States? Does the relief obtained furnish an argument for the status quo in wages and prices which both the denizens of the upper brackets and the O.P.A. have let slip through their fingers? Or should the urgency of obtaining mass purchasing power swallow all such considerations?

The interim tax measures must soon give way to a program for a longer and more nearly normal period. There should be time enough for attention to the provable requirements of small taxpayers and to the precise effects of possible measures upon their financial situation. The human beings who pursue their daily ways under the label of "mass purchasing power" can press their arguments more effectively when they can compete in figures and exegesis with the payers of profit taxes.

OH, COME NOW!

• "Bert's eel, anguilla chrysypa, is not to be confused with the European eel, anguilla anguilla. The pet eel has fewer vertebrae, 104 to 110, than the anguilla anguilla, which has 111 to 118, depending on goodness knows what."

—Providence Evening Bulletin

• The other day a county judge of Tulsa, Oklahoma, read a marriage ceremony before the same couple three times. This, however, constitutes no record. The pair, Norma Wheaton and James Diggs, have said "I do" to each other (and a judge) 24 times. Both are attorneys and have been acting as "stand-ins" in proxy marriages between servicemen and brides who do not want to wait until the boys come home.

• At a Nazi concentration camp for patriots in Norway, the number of German guards ran low and Norwegians were forced to serve as guards. Not willing to trust them with rifles, the Germans armed them with spades only.

This was embarrassing when three prisoners escaped from the camp one night. The Norwegian guard who spotted them shouted: "Halt!" as instructed, but as the prisoners ignored him, he shouted in final warning: "Halt! or I dig!"

—The Universe

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The country is trying to carry water on both shoulders

Soldiers or Trainees?

By T. H. Thomas

Military Historian

ONE point not to be overlooked in regard to peace-time training is that we already have it, and in this present form are likely to have it for a good while to come. The surrender of Japan came about long before the country had made up its mind on the training issue, but President Truman turned to a clear-cut and workable solution. The immediate problem before him was to keep intact and up to strength the divisions that had to be left on duty in various quarters of the world overseas, and in particular to provide replacements for the 85-point men in all such units. With this in view, he issued a call for volunteers to take the places of drafted men (as far as possible) and at the same time reduced the draft quotas to 50,000 men per month. (In the first months of 1945, the monthly quotas had been raised as high as 120,000.)

This was in every way a sensible step. The President in fact acted on the principle: "It is a condition not a theory that confronts us." The condition was that a steady flow of replacements had to be provided to the units left overseas. Without entering into the theories of voluntary and compulsory service, the President accepted both—for the time being. Among other things, this step will give us, in due time, a working idea as to how many volunteers the Army can expect to enlist in peace-time, which has little relation to the number coming forward in time of war. The fact is that for the first time in our history the process of recruiting for all branches of the armed services will now be pushed to the utmost limits in time of peace. The thing has never been attempted before, and as a matter of plain fact, there is little solid basis for estimating how many recruits can be found.

From 1922 to 1935, the enlisted personnel of the Army and Navy together averaged well under 250,000 men. These enlisted for from three to six years of service, so that the recruiting offices had to find only a fairly modest total of new recruits every year. All these, moreover, could be drawn from age-brackets amounting to well over 15,000,000 men. Today, the whole age-bracket of men over 18 or 19 is made up of "veterans" who have been in uniform for several years, and who for the most part are eager to get out. Of the 85-point men now champing at the bit, how many are wanting to get back home in order to re-enlist in the regular Army? Every provision of the G.I. Bill of Rights has been devised with the idea of tempting them into civilian occupations: in its actual effect, it will stack the cards heavily against the present calls for large-scale re-enlistments.

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It has often been argued that the difficulty can be met by offering better prospects of pay and promotion. This is no answer as far as the Army is concerned, since the Navy, the Marines and the Air Forces are also making exactly that offer: in reality, we shall now have four services in active competition for recruits—and on an unprecedented scale. For a long time after 1922 the enlisted personnel of the Navy and Marines together averaged a little over 100,000; by the present plans, this will be raised to 500,000 sailors and 100,000 marines. The Air Force in turn has indicated (unofficially) plans for a post-war establishment of 600,000 enlisted personnel. On the basis of past experience, the Navy and Air Force hold out far more appeal than the Army to peace-time recruits, even on an equal basis of pay. (The same was true, apparently, in England, during the pre-war years.) A mechanized army may offer more appeal; but service in the infantry cannot be dressed out in beguiling clothes, and without infantry there can be no army.

Present indications are that there will be a limited supply of infantry recruits, on the basis of competitive recruiting. To a congressional committee last summer, General Marshall expressed the opinion that "even with prohibitive rates of pay" the peace-time Army could hardly reach 250,000 recruits in peace-time. General Palmer, a specialist in questions of manpower, set the limit at 200,000. If the Navy and Marines succeed in recruiting 600,000; and the Air Force an equal number, it is possible that the Army will fall short of even 250,000.

It is fair to say that in raising their peace-time establishments to this scale, the Navy and Air Force have no more than followed the prevailing trend of American opinion. From every quarter during the past two years civilian voices have affirmed as a settled and positive principle that we must maintain in peace-time the largest Navy in the world, and the strongest Air Force. No one has seriously suggested a different position; even the opponents of compulsory service rest their stand very largely upon our keeping unchallenged predominance in these two branches. No one in Congress has suggested reducing the Navy to a smaller peace-time establishment.

Yet the fact remains that no nation in history has ever maintained a force of 600,000 enlisted personnel in peace-time. Nothing in our past experience suggests that we can raise 1,200,000 men by voluntary enlistment, yet that total (by the present plans) would provide for the Navy and Air Force alone—leaving for the Army nothing at all. All three services favor the voluntary system, but in effect different branches of the same firm are keeping separate books. A combined balance sheet will show a heavy deficit of peace-time recruits.

The deficit will fall chiefly on the Army, the branch of the service which has to shoulder the dirty-work of our military responsibilities during the next few years. Whatever luck befalls the Navy and Air Force in the process of scaling down from war-time strength, the Army cannot indulge in the hope of passing to a peace-time footing at a single stroke. It will have to shoulder the

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thankless (and politically unpopular) burdens of maintaining garrisons at home and abroad, as well as the forces of occupation in enemy lands. It will have to keep going the training camps necessary for this purpose; and in effect, it will have to bear the brunt of the miscellaneous complaints against a peace-time draft. If the recruiting campaigns of the Navy and Air Force leave the Army stripped of men, it will then be blamed for trying to "sabotage the idea of voluntary recruiting:" in point of fact, this accusation was raised in Congress even before the President's call for recruits got under way.

VOLUNTEERS VS. CONSCRIPTION

In reality, the over-all increase in the scale of the peace-time forces raises issues which the country is unwilling to face. Our "tradition of voluntary service" rested on the simple fact of minor military liabilities and correspondingly modest totals of recruits. The country now wants to return to the voluntary tradition, and at the same time to expand its peace-time forces far beyond the natural limits of the voluntary system. Reflecting this mood fairly accurately, Congress flinches from the idea of compulsory service while assenting to a Navy and Air Force of no matter what size, so long as it calls only for volunteers. If the volunteers do not answer the call, it will not be Congress' worry.

All this adds up to an illusory approach to a post-war policy. By setting up projects that will collapse of themselves we are making progress backwards. Oddly enough, the most determined opponents of compulsory service rely most eagerly on an unreal alternative: i.e. a regular Army built around a quite visionary total of voluntary enlistments. It has been said a thousand times that we have to choose between a large professional Army or one built on universal service: in reality, we have no such choice. In competition with a Navy and Air Force working for over a million recruits, a large Army could not be raised by voluntary enlistment.

At this stage, the essential thing is the supply of man-power during the interim period: i.e. as long as the Army has to maintain fairly large garrisons and forces of occupation overseas. This is a separate problem from the permanent peace-time set-up of the regular Army, (which may be worked out later on), but for the moment it is the vital matter. The overwhelming urge to get the troops back home without delay has made the problem all the more difficult and confused: from sheer impatience (a good deal of it unreasonable), it threatens the prospect of maintaining the forces of occupation in orderly fashion.

The President made a sensible beginning in dealing with this. His double-barrel approach gave the fullest opportunity to the voluntary system, while by continuing the draft he made sure of a steady supply of replacements for the garrisons remaining overseas (which are not to be confused with the divisions awaiting transport home). By cutting down the monthly quota, he has eased the pressure on the 18-year contingent; and by limiting the period of service, overseas service will be less of a burden to the troops in-

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volved. Incidentally, a quota of 50,000 men per month will provide 600,000 trained civilian soldiers in the course of a year. For the time being, perhaps, this offers the most practical solution of the immediate problem of peace-time training—as the trainees are carrying out a task that is not only useful but indispensable at this time.

This was accomplished without new legislation, under the Selective Service law already in force. To carry it forward, it will be necessary to extend the law once again, as it expires next spring. This will raise the issue of peace-time compulsory service; and in Congress strong opposition is certain to arise.

On the outcome will turn the whole course of our post-war international policy. The withdrawal of our few divisions from the Rhine in 1922-23 gave the final signal that we were pulling out from the task of enforcing the peace. All Europe will take it as a corresponding signal if our divisions of occupation are broken up in the course of 1946. No assurances of good intentions will count in the least: for all practical purposes our membership in the United Nations will amount to a cancelled cheque.

Yet this will be the practical result if Congress refuses to extend the Selective Service law next spring. Practically every division now overseas is held together under the authority of that law, since every one of them is made up chiefly of drafted men. If the law expires, even the newly trained draftees now being sent out as replacements will automatically be liberated from service; and the divisions they make up will have to be disbanded. The proportion of drafted men in the "retained" Navy may be smaller, but a surprising number of ships will suddenly go out of commission. This disintegration of organized units will mean in effect the wrecking of any plan of post-war military organization Congress may adopt in the meantime. Our post-war regular forces will have to build themselves up again out of the wreckage.

The President, in short, has made a sound and workable start in dealing with the needs of the interim period. By greatly speeding up the demobilization schedules, the Army now expects to strip away most of the war-time force of 8,700,000 by July, 1946. Leaving only 200,000 men in Japan, all the categories of forces overseas (including the Canal Zone, Alaska, etc.) will be cut to 870,000. Yet it cannot seriously be expected that any such total can be built up by that time from volunteer recruits. Unless the Selective Service law is kept in operation, the whole structure of forces at home and abroad will collapse.

REVERSAL OF PRESIDENT

In his message to Congress of October 23, the President moved in an opposite direction. In effect, he adopted the May-Gurney bill for a year of universal training on the home front: the scheme by which the trainee would not serve in the Army or Navy and could not be sent out for service overseas. Yet this seems to involve a direct conflict with the measure the President had already put into effect. The monthly quotas of 50,000 per month must come chiefly from the 18-year contingent,

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Loring in *The Providence Evening Bulletin*
"THE HOT POTATO!"

as the older classes had already been drawn into service; the message to Congress proposed that this youngest contingent be called out for a year of duty as stay-at-home trainees. We can do one thing or the other—but not both. We cannot draft the 18-year olds simultaneously for training at home and for actual service overseas. The President noted: "Universal training is not intended to take the place of the present Selective Service system . . . now being used to furnish replacements in the armed forces for the veterans of this war who are being discharged." What else could it do but take the place of Selective Service? Men kept at home as trainees cannot be replacements overseas. If the home-trainee scheme were put into effect, Selective Service would automatically go out the window.

The May-Gurney scheme is a revision of a plan for universal training devised by a congressional committee in 1920—when we were not faced by the task of maintaining any substantial forces overseas. Working backward, so to speak, it would correct the particular malady of unpreparedness we fell into after 1920; it has not the slightest relation to the problems immediately facing us in 1945. Instead of helping, it would hinder the vital task of providing replacements for overseas; instead of building up the strength of the Army and Navy it would actually draft 1,000,000 men a year *away* from the armed forces. If the 18-year contingent were restricted to training at home, the garrisons overseas would collapse without more ado.

Even if it were to come into force only later on, after the interim period, the May-Gurney scheme would hinder rather than help. It is built on the foundation of leaving all the real work to the regular forces; on the off-hand assumption that an immensely larger Army, Navy, Marine Corps and Air Force would all carry themselves along, smoothly and effortlessly, by voluntary enlistment. Yet the one-year procedure of carefully insulated "civilian" training would make it all the more difficult to recruit real soldiers and sailors. Would a year of compulsory service of this sort spur people on to join up for a much longer hitch in the regular forces?

Five or six countries have held to the system of voluntary armies; nearly all the rest have turned to conscription. No country, so far, has gone in for both at once. The May-Gurney scheme attempts precisely that. It calls for an underpinning of "professional soldiers" three or four times as large as any

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nation has ever raised in peace-time; and on top of this proposes an annual contingent of trainees such as no country has ever undertaken to handle. In Germany, in the years before 1914, something over 300,000 men were taken into training very year; the Russian Army had tepped up its annual contingent to over 500,000. The May-Gurney roject calmly undertakes to handle 1,000,000. Merely as a training proposition, it would be a record-reaker in every sense.

The Russian conscript had four ears training; the German infanryman had two full years, while rtillery and cavalry had from two o three. The trainee of 1945 will ave far more to learn than was ever hought of in 1914: more weapons o handle; more professional probems to tackle all on his own; and a vastly wider range of tactical situaions to cope with. He will have to earn it all (under the plan proosed) in a single year.

The whole possibility of achieving his rests on the intelligent procedure f an intensive (and progressive) raining program devised and carried hrough by General McNair, beginning in the autumn of 1940. This in urn rests on doing thoroughly the hree-month stage of basic training; n affair in which a single competent nstructor (a sergeant or corporal uly qualified) took over ten or a ozen men. Not all the men inducted into service had the advantage of his, but it forms the standard which ust be the basis of any real peaceime training program. Anything ess than this will mean wasting the ime of civilian trainees; the PFC of the present day cannot be turned out by class-room instruction, or by the High School Cadet concept of "military training" which has decorated the college campus for many years.

We have no figures as to the number of sergeant instructors needed for the job done since the beginning of 1941; most of them, apparently, swung in with the mixed run of the draft and found their place by "natural selection." (They wear few medals, but they turned out the private soldiers who seem to have stood up against S.S. divisions when the time came.) In Germany (before 1914) there were over 35,000 commissioned officers and 108,000 non-commissioned officers above the rank of corporal to handle a yearly contingent of something over 300,000 trainees who served for two years: i.e. over 600,000 in all. How many sergeant-instructors will it require to push 1,000,000 American trainees through a single year of far more intensive training?

Without this highly competent "professional personnel" any scheme of peace-time training will be a fraud and a sham. It will be a costly and foolish illusion to revert to the afternoon drill-ground exercises established by Federal law in the Land-Grant colleges of the vintage of 1866. We are not functioning in the 1866 scheme of things, and there is no sense in prolonging into the post-war years a museum-piece of military training which was obsolete long before the war with Spain.

The May-Gurney scheme does not commit us to this, but it ignores the practical problem involved in creating a training personnel up to the

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standard of that which has carried us through the recent war. It assumes (by default) that the training of 1,000,000 impatient civilians can be handled as an incidental and marginal task of the regular Army and Navy. Instead, it will be a full time job; and the instructor personnel alone will amount to the whole enlisted strength of the two services in the pre-war years.

In this respect the President deserves full credit. He has rejected the many alternatives of ersatz *military* training pressed on us during the past year or two, and has held firmly to the common-sense necessity of field-training carried through in an unbroken schedule. He is not a West Pointer or a professional soldier, but he has had first-hand experience in training civilian soldiers before, during and after the first World War. As a result of this, he warns us to "accept no substitutes." There is no easy way of avoiding the real thing. Any of these appealing short-cuts would only mean a huge waste of time and money by all concerned; an illusion of training—which would have to be done all over again when faced by the actual test of war. There was time to do this with the partially trained elements called into service in 1940 and 1941: we cannot gamble on any such facility another time.

Let it be real training or none at all. Very possibly we shall have to continue compulsory service in peacetime in order to maintain the armed forces on the scale the country now desires. It will have to be real and useful military service; not segregated "civilian training." Our need will be for soldiers — not trainees

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• A man who escaped to Britain from Norway told of one of the incidents which brightened the gloom of Nazi occupation.

A friend of his, whose habit of constantly carrying an umbrella was well known in Oslo, walked into a cafe. A group of Nazis observed the umbrella and contemptuously shouted in chorus: "Chamberlain!"

The Norwegian leapt up on a table, opened the umbrella and parachuted to the ground, exclaiming: "Hess!"

—*Evening Standard*

FRIENDSHIP

• A mother was enrolling her six-year-old son in kindergarten. The teacher, following the usual formula, brought out her records and began to ask questions:

"Does the boy have any older brothers?"

"No."

"Younger brothers?"

"No."

"Older sisters?"

"No."

"Younger sisters?"

"No."

At this point the lad, who had grown increasingly unhappy and self-conscious, put in a wistful word. "But," he said defensively, "I've got friends."

—*Quote*

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Education can show the student what's in store for him

Teaching the Future

By Ossip K. Flechtheim

Department of History and Government, Bates College

"The present is great with the future."

—*Leibnitz*

CASSANDRA foretold the fall of Troy, Jeremiah prophesied the doom of Jerusalem. Similarly, Benedetto Croce reminds us that, in medieval historiography, we find the idea of a *history of things future,* an idea continued in the Renaissance by the paradoxical Francesco Patrizzi. The oracles of Nostradamus, Patrizzi's contemporary, have recently become a best-seller because of the alleged prophesies they contain about the frightful happenings of our days. Throughout history, in times of crisis, prophets and seers have abounded who, stirring the masses, have gained a passionate following. In the more quiet periods succeeding the times of trouble, pre-occupation with the future was not a mass phenomenon. It remained for artists and poets to paint their visions while, here and there, chiliastic preachers and utopian revolutionaries dreamed of the Millenium that was soon to be born. Since the "Dawn of Conscience" in the days of the Egyptian prophets, the future has been both the sacred preserve of the genius and the happy hunting ground of the charlatan. Theirs was the monopoly of the "beyond" of space and time.

However, prophetic voices of all varieties were bound to be stilled by the onrushing tide of the scientific age. To the diligent student of things exact and the pedantic teacher of events past and present, any attempt to delve into the future seemed a ridiculous undertaking worthy only of contempt. It so happened that the culmination of modern scientific development coincided with the era of social stability of the past century, encouraging scientists to restrict their investigations to the past of man and the invariably recurring present of nature.

In a relatively static age, basic social change is too slow to enter into the consciousness of its contemporaries. In their eyes, past, present and future are basically identical, each constituting but a link in the endless chain of repetitious events which makes up the whole of human development. To people living in a period of crisis such as ours, however, the future appears to be basically different from the past. In such historical moments the present is felt to have little reality of its own, representing, so to speak, merely a turning point between the past that is irretrievably lost and a future that is radically new. Then the history of the past is not only reinterpreted in the light of the present, but the future throws its shadow over both the present and the past. We are living through an upheaval

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comparable to the Neolithic and Urban Revolution which brought about the first civilizations. Whatever may be in store for us, the status quo will not endure. Such is our fate, our dilemma and our privilege.

While the primitive prophet was the best that previous epochs of crisis were able to produce, we can do better today. Many centuries of growing secularization and rationalization and, with them, scientific progress, have enabled us, for the first time in human history, to attempt what might be called a scientific prognosis. The change from prophesy with scientific pretensions to "prophetic science" was under way in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with men like Hegel and Marx, Saint-Simon and Comte, Pareto and Spengler. Today, when we are witnessing the birth of a scientific psychology, the last great obstacle towards an understanding of society is being removed. Instead of consulting the stars, the "futurologist" of 1945 can get his clues from historians and sociologists, from philosophers and psychologists, from economists and political scientists. He can make intelligent use of a tremendous reservoir of knowledge, though some theories found may differ as widely as those of Arnold Toynbee and Ralph Turner, of Pitirim Sorokin and R. M. MacIver, of Sigmund Freud and Erich Fromm. The analyst of the future would have to find his way between the optimism of Trotzky or Croce and the pessimism of Henry Adams or Berdyayev. He would have to consult the writings of conservatives like Herr V. Hayek and Ortega y Gasset, of liberals like Karl Mannheim and Lewis Mumford, of radicals like Laski and Strachey, and even of fascists like L. Dennis and Evola. Works like Huizinga's *In the Shadow of Tomorrow,* Langdon-Davies' *A Short History of the Future,* and Furnace's *The Next Hundred Years,* if critically used should prove helpful. Lastly, great utopias, daring and fantastic though they doubtlessly are, may yield insights that are more revealing than the voluminous writings of learned system-builders. For examples in point, the reader is referred to Jack London's *The Iron Heel,* Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World,* or H. G. Wells' *The Shape of Things to Come.* Having such a variety of sources to draw upon, a productive mind should be capable of presenting a meaningful synopsis of the future.

PROBABLE FUTURE TRENDS

It cannot be denied that theories and opinions with regard to the development of the next centuries are confused and contradictory. However, agreement does exist among a large number of scholars as to the major problems that humanity will face. To clarify these problems, and subsequently, to predict the most probable trends is a task which we have the means to accomplish successfully today. Since the scope of this article does not permit of a complete presentation of the issues which have been in the center of general discussion, one may indicate in a few words three roads along which it is theoretically imaginable that the human caravan may move.

Out of these three, only two seem probable, for we may safely exclud

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the optimistic assumption that mankind as an integrated unit will continually progress towards greater liberty, equality and fraternity through the use of organized intelligence, world-wide cooperation, and peaceful adaptation. We are, therefore, left with two real alternatives: Our Western Civilization may decline as a result of further wars and revolutions, of crises and disintegrations, leading up to a complete break-down of modern society and a regression in all fields of human achievement. In that event, the collapse of the modern world would bring forth a new "Dark Age." This period would resemble in general effect the era from which our present civilization sprang, although the regression would not necessarily imply complete loss of all material advances attained since the early Middle Ages.

Lastly, and perhaps most likely, we may witness, during the next century or two, the slow and painful emergence of a world equilibrium, primarily brought about through conquest and revolution and in part achieved through accommodation and rational compromise. There is little reason to assume with Spengler and Toynbee that such a world society would necessarily be uncreative or short-lived. In contrast to previous world empires, the new world-state would be based on much greater scientific and technical efficiency. Comprising all continents, it would be free from any threat of aggression from without. Still we may imagine that the world community would remain diversified enough to leave room for friction and re-adjustment, compensating to a certain extent at least for the high degree of bureaucratization, mechanization and standardization that will probably be prevalent. Thus there is still hope that this global society could serve as a basis for new cultural creativeness.

If it is true that an increasing concern with the problems of the future is discernable and that a body of useful material is accumulating among present-day scientists and scholars, it may rightfully be asked why educational institutions in general and the liberal arts college in particular have as yet shown no interest in the day after tomorrow. A serious investigation into the future — "Futurology" as a science — is scarcely a generation old; it is, historically speaking, still in its swaddling clothes. With education only beginning to adjust to the needs of a dynamic age, it is natural that such problems as are here indicated have not yet penetrated into classrooms and textbooks. In spite of many presentations to the contrary, most schools and universities continue to rely on the perpetuation of the status quo, being satisfied to teach what was and what is. Not only do our history courses terminate with the year they are taught, but the same situation exists in government and economics, psychology and biology. And, quite obviously, if any one isolated specialist in these fields ventured a glance into the future, he would experience insurmountable difficulties, limited as he would be to his own subject matter and possibly uninformed about the other social and cultural trends.

It is true that the last few years have witnessed increasing efforts to break down, in research and teach-

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ing, the barriers of over-specialization and super-compartmentalization which have been the product of our system of division of labor carried to the extreme. A growing number of scholars and educators feel the need for integration of the various branches of knowledge on a higher level than that achieved in the so-called survey courses. In this respect, Columbia University and the University of Chicago have done valuable pioneer work with their courses in Contemporary Civilization. Probably even more promising is the attempt to synthesize the most significant achievements of the past and present in cultural heritage and integration courses, such as are offered at Southwestern, Scripps, Bates and other colleges. These projects intend to "emphasize those thought centers in which some pattern comes to a culmination point or finds final expression, and those which initiate new developments."

Though most of these various plans are still in an experimental stage, none of them seems to include a course on the future of our civilization. If we fail, however, to make the future an essential part of the integrated comprehension of the past, our interpretation of human culture will be neither complete nor meaningful. Any synopsis neglecting the impact of the days to come upon the days gone by would prove fragmentary or scholastic at best. At worst, it would serve as an escape from the perplexing situation of today and tomorrow. An extensive and thorough discussion, on the other hand, of the great problems of the next decades would open up new horizons and prepare the student for the world in which he cannot help but live the greater part of his life. Such a study would enable him to develop, according to the Bates College Post-war Curriculum Committee, "an attitude and willingness to accept and initiate evaluated change." Even more important than Physical Chemistry or Old English Grammar to the present-day student, whose life span may well stretch into the twenty-first century, should be a knowledge of what is in store for him. He may, after all, be the one to suffer unemployment, to endure neuroses, to fight future wars, or to be thrown into a concentration camp. Even if a study of the future should lead him to the conclusion that there is little prospect of avoiding these calamities, he has a right to know what to expect.

A course with the future as its subject-matter could never be a text-book course. It would have to be taught by a truly creative scholar with a wide socio-cultural background and a vital interest in the forces of our age. He would have to possess strong scientific discipline in order to rid himself and his students of prejudice and to force them to part with many of their most cherished hopes and illusions. Though an active participant in the life of his century, he would have to be, for the purposes and duration of this course, a dispassionate and disinterested observer of things future.

Among the many criticisms an new idea is bound to evoke, the writer anticipates three major objections. First, it may be held that no one person would be equipped to teach so novel and broad a subject

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In refutation it may be said that those interested in teaching the future could pool their resources, especially if they were supported in their respective institutions by specialists in the various fields.

Secondly, ever-cautious minds may question the degree of certainty and concreteness with which any statement on the future can be made. They will be likely to fear that college funds would be wasted on glittering generalities and wishful thinking instead of being soundly invested in the sober business of teaching established facts. To them we may say that every beginning has been daring and problematic. The natural sciences themselves had their origin in bold speculations of the Greek philosophers of nature in the sixth century B.C. And fragmentary though our information may appear at this point, it will grow in proportion as it is made the subject of serious study and inspired teaching.

Lastly, some timid souls may recoil from any attempt to lift the veil that hides the future, lest they behold Medusa's face. Such a reaction would be indicative of a wide and deep-seated resistance to scientific truth, which has accompanied and obstructed the progress of science through the ages. This attitude can be traced as far back as the ancient myth that whoever tastes the fruit of knowledge will be expelled from paradise. Applied to the future, the same idea is found in Alexander Pope's argument "that it is partly upon his ignorance of future events and partly on a hope of a future state that man's happiness in the present depends." Granted that the future has always been man's greatest storehouse of illusions and that we no longer dare claim with the nineteenth century optimists that increased knowledge inevitably leads to greater happiness, it is likewise unjustified to assume *a priori* that ignorance *per se* will bring forth a state of bliss. In no event can the relationship between knowledge and happiness be established in the abstract; it depends rather on the specific situation and the people involved.

Until the future is made the subject of concrete investigation, only one hypothesis is warranted: namely, that knowledge contributes equally to happiness or misery. In conclusion, the possibility must be faced that the results of an investigation of the future might depress teacher and student, should it show that the human condition in the next decades and centuries will not measure up to their expectations. Even in such a case the course will have contributed to the intellectual and moral growth of the participants. Having gained a clear insight into the future of the race, they will more easily adapt themselves with a sense of responsibility to the historically and culturally inevitable or to withstand it individually with knowledge and personal conviction. In any event, whichever course of action they may choose, they should enter upon it wiser and braver than before.

• Servicemen, with characteristic shrewdness, have reduced the maze of Army rules and regulations to three simple formulae: 1. If it moves, salute it. 2. If it doesn't move, pick it up. 3. If it's too big to pick up, paint it.

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The individual and collective freedoms

Planning For Freedom

By Mark Starr

Educational Director, International Ladies Garment Workers Union

ARE our well-intentioned planners paving the road to serfdom? Can security against unemployment, old-age and sickness be purchased only by the loss of individual freedom? Is the Murray Bill for Full Employment, which guarantees to provide work for any unwanted surplus of available labor-power, the thin end of the wedge as the N.A.M. alleges? Such questions are current and deserve examination in the light of modern developments which have changed our ideas of individual and group freedoms.

Freedom, we know, is relative and must ever be confined to certain limits. The human body is not free to quit breathing, sleeping and eating and yet continue to live. My freedom to wave my hand ends usually where my neighbor's nose begins. The old riddle, "Is God free to make a stone bigger than he can lift?" suggests that freedom in one direction limits its exercise in another. Even before the dazzling possibilities of atomic energy became recognized, modern productivity made it possible to feed, clothe and shelter mankind and thus free man from age-long fears. Primitive man lived precariously and dangerously in his cave, brutish and savage as the animals. Even the craftsmen of Ecclesiasticus lived only to work from sunup to sundown. Later, men were free to starve or work in sweatshop. However, the great corporations, the intricate division of labor, large-scale mechanized mass production, the high productive efficiency of modern industry and the increasing governmental controls bring their own peculiar problems for those who prize individual freedom.

Thoughtful citizens are rethinking their previous ideas about the individual and the state. For example, in a challenging essay, "Socialism and Freedom," Will Herberg shows that while previously socialism was challenged because it was impractical and utopian, now with its feasibility demonstrated, its moral dangers are asserted. He writes:

> "Until the Bolshevik revolution and the rise of fascist totalitarianism, socialism was regarded by men of good will as a great and noble ideal unfortunately unrealizable in this sinful world. The moral worth of the ideal was freely admitted what was questioned was the possibility of ever attaining it. Socialists were arraigned by their opponents as well-meaning visionaries who were misleading the ignorant masses with their far fetched utopian schemes.
>
> "Opposition of this kind the Socialists could take and thrive upon Charges of utopianism meant very little to them except as a spur to speed the day of victory and thus refute the skepticism of their op

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ponents. As long as they themselves believed, passionately and unquestioningly, in the moral worth of their goal, as long as they found it generally acknowledged by all decent people, there were no difficulties they could not surmount, no persecutions they could not sustain."

Now, in the light of the victories and achievement of the Soviet Army and Soviet industry, the charge is shifted. Collectivism is practical but leads to slavery, is the current assertion. The servile state corrodes individual liberty.

After stating the nature of the crisis based upon the totalitarian collectivism under Stalin and Hitler, Mr. Herberg appropriately recalls the primary emphasis upon individual worth and human decency:

> "Socialism arose in the modern world as a protest against bourgeois society for enslaving man by turning him into a thing, an instrument, a mere depersonalized adjunct of the machine. It held forth the vision of a social order in which 'the free development of each will lead to the free development of all.' It called for a revolutionary transformation of the economic system, for the replacement of private capitalism by socialism, in order to liberate man and allow him to develop to the full the powers and capacities of his personality. It saw clearly that as long as the workers are kept in economic insecurity and subjection, they cannot be free in any sense. Economic collectivism it regarded as necessary only in order to provide the basis for freedom and genuine personality under modern industrial conditions."

Here then is the recurring problem of preventing economic organization from becoming an end in itself —the problem of the relation between the state and the citizen. To some the state is the great Leviathan who enjoys priority of necessity and right. Other thinkers besides Hobbes made the state supreme. Plato's *Republic* brooked no rival and St. Augustine made over the Republic into "The City of God." Machiavelli described the state as an amoral agency of control. Spencer reduced the state to a night watchman. The Founding Fathers of our Republic feared autocratic state power and made an elaborate system of checks and balances between legislative, executive and judicial agencies with little, if any, creative functions for government as such.

Coming into our own century, we find Ramsay MacDonald in "Socialism and Government" thus reducing the role of the individual:

> "In the eyes of the state, the individual is not an end in himself but the means to 'that far-off divine event to which the whole creation moves' . . . The state represents the political personality of the whole . . . It thinks and feels for the whole."

The pathetic anti-climax of MacDonald's personal career — fawned upon by his previous enemies and frowned upon by all his previous friends, splitting the Labor party by which he had climbed to eminence and, with all that he had given his life to, disowned and discarded by his Tory colleagues—all this symbolizes the failure of British society to evolve into the biologic organic unity on which MacDonald's philosophy was based. But his failure does not meet our problem of how the necessities of group action can be reconciled with individual freedom.

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As already suggested, freedom is never absolute but limited. Our very existence depends upon conforming to specific physical and social requirements. Hence, our freedom to live arises from the intelligent understanding of natural laws governing our personal existence. But we live not only in nature but in our community, and in the same way we need an intelligent understanding of the man-made laws, rules and regulations indispensable to social life. No normal individual could live solely by himself. The herd, the pack, the bee hive and the ant heap show that even animals developed group life in order to survive. Even Robinson Crusoe was not entirely a self-made rugged individualist for, you will recall, he took with him to his desert island skills acquired in his previous existence as a member of a group. He carried in his hand a rifle which primitive man could not have made. He knew about books, clothes and shelter which had been produced by groups of men living together.

How can we win security and the advantages of group action in our economic life and yet retain individual freedom? Group living involves discipline and the element of compulsion. Nevertheless, we must retain flexibility in our social rules and regulations to permit the emergence and development of the brilliant non-conformist—who may be a crackpot or a genius or a mixture of both, be a flashback to a dead past or an illumination for the path of future advance. We need not be unduly alarmed for the resistance and inertia of the group against new ideas, and their proponents are usually an adequate test of their toughness and quality.

Yet woe betide if any group tries to prevent any criticism of its ways and proposals for its change. Cromwell was wont to say to his critics, "I pray you on the bowels of Christ, to remember that you may be mistaken." Perhaps in less colorful terms but certainly as forcefully we should remind ourselves of the fallibility of human judgment and that "time makes ancient good uncouth." Beware of those who profess to possess absolute truth.

Further, to complicate our problem is the fact that it cannot be regarded as a simple equation of the individual *versus* the group. Inside each community there are now diverse groups seeking influence. In politics we have pressure groups openly exercising controls. The further growth of the community indeed involves a mutual understanding and give-and-take between the groups within the community, a composite formulation of the common good as viewed from many angles.

The United States has always been regarded as the land of opportunity and when we talk of equal opportunity in the United States of the twentieth century, we increasingly mean opportunity to form groups to do collectively what we cannot do individually. It is true that this means that the individual must think of his group and often think in long-time rather than in short-time terms. However, in return for these social obligations, the modern individual enjoys a security and a higher standard of life which would be far outside his reach if he depended upon individual effort.

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There is a great need for clear thinking upon this particular point, because there is a great deal of current discussion about the danger of private enterprise and of individual initiative and liberty being swamped by government action. Professor Hayek has told us in a widely read and reviewed book that we are on the road to serfdom unless we go back to Adam Smith. Free enterprise, however, should surely mean that private and public enterprise are possible. Why cannot individuals, joining their united forces, develop public enterprise? Many people fear, that if the government creates job opportunities, this will put the individual businessman into bankruptcy. Doctors, for example, who are not skilled in diagnosis of the body politic, shout protests against "socialized medicine" when group action by health insurance is proposed. We are asked to tremble at the oncoming servile state. What is this bogey man?

GOVERNMENT IN BUSINESS

Surely no one nowadays thinks that the state power should be used to expropriate at one fell swoop the tools, the workshops and the industrial equipment of our society and put everyone on a government payroll. But in every instance where individual enterprise cannot tackle a job or where it has failed to do a job in an effective way, we have used our powers working through our government. After all, the would-be rugged individualist usually sends his children to the public school, uses the street car and certainly depends upon the Army and Navy for the important job of national protection.

Indeed, new techniques are now being developed whereby industries operated and owned by the government are run as independent public corporations instead of being run, say, as the Post Office. Competent directors are placed in charge and are given executive powers and responsibilities. These executives do not operate the industry under the orthodox profit motivation, but they most certainly must show that the business pays its way. As part of this technique, plans are made whereby the actual workers in the plant, skilled and unskilled, are brought into labor-management conferences. This may well be the pattern of the future instead of an overall bureaucratic plan for taking over all the industries of the country.

Those who fear this should open their eyes and see the extent to which the basic industries of our country are now already operated by great corporations. It virtually becomes a question of whether industry will be run by big corporations endeavoring to build up monopolies or by publicly-owned corporations subject to the final control of the majority of the people expressed through their government.

All of us as citizens and as members of trade unions and professional groups are vitally concerned with attaining both efficient economic life and individual freedom. How best can we put democracy into overalls and make it work in our day and generation, in industry and in politics? Democracy in its basic meaning implies respect for the worth and integrity of each individual. It is not merely counting noses on election day.

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When we look at economic life in the United States, we can note that there are at least three ways in which labor-capital relations can be carried on. These are paternalism, dictatorship or industrial democracy based on cooperation between equals. Paternalism may serve in small-scale industry when the employer knows all his workmen by their first names and knows about their family circumstances as well as their work capacities. When the small company becomes a large-scale corporation, this personal relationship is destroyed. Then comes the danger of a no-man's land created between the front office and the workshop. Absentee owners do not know what is going on in their business. The complicated hierarchy of management loses touch with the individual worker. As a longtime proposal, paternalism cannot be accepted. Modern life increasingly becomes an affair of relationships between groups and their representatives.

The second method of dictatorship is foreign to all we hold dear. In this instance the workers are ordered about with no consideration whatever. They are cogs in a wheel owned by a corporation. Their labor power is bought as a commodity with no recognition that it is embodied in flesh and blood. Theirs not to reason why: theirs but to take orders and obey them promptly. That view is surely a survial of an outmoded past.

The third method is for organized labor to meet representatives of management and of business on an equal footing and exercise the constitutional rights of collective bargaining. This, of course, involves a recognition that collective bargaining is here to stay and that the corporations realize that industrial workers have the right to set up their own organization and thus secure equality in bargaining strength.

In my opinion, the days of paternalism and industrial dictatorship in labor-capital relations are now gone. Despite all evidence of friction and misunderstanding and the "employer trouble" and the "labor trouble," which even in war-time caused some exceptional disruptions in production, we have seen in the last few years great forward strides in union-management cooperation. During war-time some 5,000 labor-management committees covered over 7,000,000 workers. It will indeed be tragic if we allow this hopeful pattern of cooperation to be replaced by a revival of the old antagonisms and industrial civil war.

COLLECTIVE FACILITIES

In their civic life, the men and women of any modern town would be foolish to walk as rugged individualists instead of using the collective transport facilities of the subway or the street-car line. Our citizen might well live in a model dwelling erected by public enterprise to replace the unsanitary slums created earlier by unregulated private enterprise. His electric light might well originate in the local equivalent of T.V.A. But in the leisure hours created by all that distinguishes us from the hourly struggle against the dangers faced by primitive man, John Citizen would be well advised to read and study to the end of the enrichment of his soul and personality so that in turn he

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could be a better parent and neighbor.

We are all perforce collectivists in the use of drains, electric light, roads and schools but not even successful book clubs can make us like the same books, so we can remain individualists in our libraries. Collective action and social planning in economic life are now indispensable. Frontier thinkers now must secure social planning plus the Bill of Rights and safeguard the individual from dangers of regimentation which arise when big business or the state controls the means whereby we live.

Let us recapture the good in the libertarian traditions of individual freedom and responsibility. The non-conformist Protestant, as you know, was responsible to his God not as a member of an organized church with its liturgies and confessionals but as a naked, individual soul before his Maker. "For what shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" queries the Gospel of St. Mark. Organizations are made for men and not men for organizations. In many instances, of course, self-realization may well mean self-sacrifice for the sake of the group; but that group must always be regarded as an aggregation of individuals and existing for their welfare.

Democratic collectivism has been advocated by many thinkers based upon a pluralistic economy with a system of checks and balances, with public and private enterprise being maintained side by side. Decentralization, new techniques for the operation of public ownership, voluntary non-state groups for various purposes such as trade unions and cooperatives are part of that plan. This mixed economy would give opportunities for economic freedom for the private one-man business, for corporations, public and private on city, state and national levels, and for cooperatives, plus fullest freedom of speech and expression for individuals and groups. Herberg finishes up the essay already quoted with a plea for "personalist socialism" in which "personality is the supreme value in the universe."

Our aim then must be to create such economic and social conditions that the individual will enjoy the greatest amount of freedom. We want no ant-heap state even if its citizens are well fed and housed. We want planning as an indispensable aid to individual liberty and well-being, with persons more important than blueprints and bureaucrats. We want the expert given a chance in his specialty, but not enthroned as a dictator. Even at the price of inefficiency, we prefer to make our own mistakes rather than be guided by a benevolent despot. This and not a blind reaction against all war-time rules and regulations is the desirable result.

The awareness of the danger of economic regimentation and eternal vigilance against its encroachment—lest economic efficiency becomes the end rather than the means to individual freedom—are our best safeguards. Most surely all men and women who enjoy some measure of security in their economic life and who have ever tasted liberty and individual freedom will never be slaves—either to a man, or a machine or an economic system.

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The best that can be expected of any government form is that it checks the abuse of power

Will a Constitution Guarantee Democracy?

By C. L. Thompson

THAT "Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," is a basic premise of western democracy. According to western thought, governments are established to secure to *all* men "certain inalienable Rights . . . among these . . . Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." To organize a government which is controlled in the last analysis by the majority of its citizens and which also safeguards the rights of minority groups is the basic problem of democratic government.

Democracy has never worked too well anywhere, even in Athens, where the system was based on slavery. Because no other system has worked as well, believers in democracy are anxious to extend its blessings to other countries and to improve it at home. Many believers in the democratic system, statesman as well as laymen, believe that the United States must bring democracy to the late enemy countries and that our occupation armies can work toward that end. In our first article we contended that democracy as a philosophy could not be forced on any people. To set up a democratic form of government and expect democracy to result is equally foolish.

Today, only in the United States and Great Britain and the small states dependent on them for their existence is democracy flourishing at all. The American system is constitutionally so set up that the basic rights of all citizens are guarded by an independent judiciary, the will of the majority is expressed by a popularly elected legislature and the direction of administration and execution of law is carried out by a popularly elected President. The delicate balance between President and Congress achieved by the separation of executive and legislative is due only partly to constitutional forms and in large part to American tradition. The British parliamentary system, as developed through law and custom, presupposes an executive power that leads in determining policy, a legislature that checks the executive through the latter's responsibility to it and, underlying this system, a balance of power between the executive and the legislature in order that neither should dominate the government. The responsibility of the Cabinet to the Parliament permits a legislative check on the executive. The executive power to dissolve the Parliament allows the executive to lead in determining policy.

The difficulty of copying and adapting democratic forms to alien cultures can be seen by a glance at the Constitution of the German re-

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public of 1919—the Weimar republic. If any constitution could have guaranteed democracy, this one should have. In the 1920's the Weimar Constitution was considered one of the most democratic in Europe. Its framers had provided for a popularly elected president on the American model and a Cabinet responsible to the Reichstag on the British pattern. They tried to avoid the weakness of the French system where the weak executive, powerless to dissolve the Chamber (according to French tradition, not law) had been overpowered by *deputantism,* unstable because of the Continental multiparty system. In addition, the founders of the Weimar republic believed that Germany needed a strong executive to guide the country through the post-war era: they therefore gave him emergency power which, combined with the power of dissolution, led eventually to constitutional dictatorship.

The most that can be expected of any government form is that it check the abuse of power. In the recent history of the western world the abuse of power has most frequently been executive. The framers of the American Constitution were well aware of the possible danger of presidential power, and the original powers of the American executive at least in the internal field were strictly limited. Even in the United States, however, the power of the executive has grown alarmingly in the past 100 years—the pressure of recurring wars and economic crises proving more than a match for constitutional forms. In Great Britain, whose history shows a constantly widening sphere of popular control of government, the Cabinet has come to occupy an increasingly important position, using the power of dissolution as a threat to control the Commons.

DEMOCRATIC TRADITION

Democracy is working in the United States and in Great Britain not because of their forms of government but because of their long democratic tradition—the Anglo-Saxon accent on individual rights, expressed in the English common law. It is therefore hard for any government, framing a constitution, to reproduce in writing those elements that have guarded the British from a dominating executive. When the framers of the Weimar Constitution copied the British parliamentary system, for example, they failed to reproduce the delicate balance between Parliament and the Cabinet. Loopholes in their constitution made the power of dissolution far too strong. They did not realize that the British system worked not because of form but because of a tradition that guarded the loopholes.

If workable democracy is based not on forms but on long tradition, a brief study of the English and American history is pertinent. The growth of the British form and of the American which sprang from it is the history of slow and often tortuous development, of widening and contracting control, of struggle between the executive and the legislature and the people for final authority.

The dissolution in Great Britain is one of the most important balance mechanisms between the Crown and

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Parliament and because of its long, slow development, this power has been much misunderstood in countries copying the system. In the sixteenth century the Parliament was almost entirely subject to the will of the king, who called it only when he needed money, or when he wanted support against the nobility. The Tudor kings gave up no iota of their prerogative of calling and dissolving the Parliament at pleasure. Nevertheless, they were shrewd enough to sense the growing feeling of liberalism in the country, and were careful not to offend the middle classes with assertions of absolute power. During the reign of Elizabeth responsible ministers of the Crown began to sit in the House of Commons and to take part in the debates. Whereas the Tudors had kept the House of Commons pacified, and had bolstered its pride if not its power, the Stuart kings constantly reminded their parliaments that all rights and privileges were enjoyed only at the king's pleasure. James I dismissed his first Parliament, in 1611, because it dared to disagree with him. His second one was dissolved before it ever passed an act, due to James' fear that it would similarly disagree. The third, in 1621, issued a protestation of its rights to the king, who dissolved it immediately.

At the same time that the Stuart kings were trying to bring the Parliament back to the status of a purely advisory agency, the Parliament was trying to exercise more control over the officers of the crown.

The first Parliament called by Charles I refused funds to the king, because it distrusted Buckingham, the king's minister and favorite. Charles I thereafter called Parliament only when he needed funds for his foreign wars, and dissolved any new Parliament which refused to vote new funds immediately.

From 1629 to 1640 Charles governed without Parliament at all. In 1640, however, he needed money so badly that he was forced to call it once more into session. This Parliament, called the "Short Parliament," refused to consider appropriations until it assured its own existence. Charles, condemning the "few cunning and some ill-affected men that have been the cause of this misunderstanding" dissolved it immediately.

Nevertheless, Charles could not carry on his expensive wars without funds, and in the same year he again resorted to a Parliament. This Parliament forced Charles to sign an "Act to Continue the Existing Parliament," in 1641, which read:

> "Be it declared and enacted by the king our sovereign lord, with the assent of the lords and commons, in this place assembled, and by the authority of the same, that this present parliament now assembled shall not be dissolved unless it be by an act of parliament to be passed for that purpose."

PARLIAMENT AND CROMWELL

In spite of the concessions which an angry Parliament forced from Charles, he was overcome by the revolution under Oliver Cromwell. Yet Cromwell treated his Parliaments as harshly and autocratically as had James and Charles; those which interfered with his plans were dissolved and armed force was applied when necessary. The Parliament of 1640, which had carefully guaranteed its rights through

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Charles, was ignored by his successor, who called and dissolved at least three Parliaments, and often ruled without a legislature.

Oliver Cromwell contrived to rule by force and dispense with Parliament; his son Richard, perhaps fortunately, could not follow his example. He, too, endeavored to turn Parliament out by force, but the Parliament rose against him and voted the restoration of the Stuarts.

Charles II and James II, however, were very like their forefathers, and Charles soon came to blows with Parliament. He dissolved it once to try to save Danby, his favorite minister, and later, to save the succession for his brother, James II, whose rights were questioned by Parliament on religious grounds. James II dissolved Parliament repeatedly because it refused to relax its acts and restrictions on the Catholics, in spite of the king's personal wishes. In this era the dissolution became an even more powerful weapon in the hands of the king, since the members of Parliament might lose their highly prized pensions. But the British became so alarmed over the possibility of a Catholic succession and continuing autocracy that James II was forced to flee and the Stuart dynasty lost England forever.

Many historians trace the beginnings of parties, of cabinets and the decrease of royal power from the revolution of 1688. After the accession of William and Mary, Parliament intended never again to be brushed aside by the sovereign. In 1694 it passed the Triennial Act, an Act for the Frequent Calling and Meeting of the Parliaments, which declared:

> "Whereas, by the ancient laws and statutes of this kingdom, frequent parliaments ought to be held; and whereas frequent and new parliaments tend very much to the happy union and good agreement of king and people . . . it is hereby declared and enacted . . . that henceforth a parliament shall be holden once in three years at the least. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid that, within three years at the farthest from the dissolution of this present, and so from time to time forever hereafter within three years at the farthest from and after the determination of every other parliament, legal writs under the great seal shall be issued by direction of your majesty, your heirs and successors for assembling and holding another new parliament."

The same act provided that no one Parliament should meet for more than three years. Thus Parliament ended for all time the possibility of a monarch reigning indefinitely without calling a Parliament. Dissolution was still a weapon to be used by the king alone, but it could not be exercised to destroy utterly the rights of the electors.

It has often been asserted that Anne's weakness and the Hanoverian ignorance of English established constitutional government in England. Undoubtedly, the fact that George I and George II were unable to follow the meetings of the Privy Council, and were little interested in English affairs, served to separate the king from the execution of public business. During the reign of George I and George II the office of the prime minister evolved, and parties began to play an important part in the organization of Parliament. During this period, further, it first

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became customary to expect the House of Commons and the Cabinet to work together in harmony.

Formerly, if the harmony between king and Commons was broken, the king dissolved the Commons, since it had no corresponding measure of control over the king. With the growth of the cabinet system, however, the balance of control could be shifted. The executive could be made responsible to the House of Commons, and the relationship between House and Cabinet was not one of servant versus master, but one of growing equality. Robert Walpole maintained harmony between himself and the House by controlling the electorate, easy to do before the great reform bills. By the time William Pitt was in the saddle, however, he determined to take more active steps against a hostile Commons. He opposed the House until he had gained public sympathy, and then had it dissolved, certain of gaining a new House sympathetic to his policies.

This sounds somewhat like a modern dissolution. Yet almost at the same time the Cabinet was forced to resign because of the personal desires of the sovereign, proving that cabinet government was not yet fully formed in England. Under Pitt the Younger, the Reform Bill which his government sponsored was defeated in the House. Instead of resigning, as a modern cabinet would, or dissolving the House, he merely abandoned the bill for the time being and remained in office—another proof that cabinet government was not yet completely developed.

In his debates on Pitt's ministry in the House in 1784, Mr. Fox made a proposal for parliamentary responsibility. This proposal, the principle of which was denied by the great Pitt himself, declared:

> ". . . that we submit it to his majesty's royal consideration that the continuance in office of an administration which does not possess the confidence of the representatives of the people must be injurious to the public service."

Nevertheless, in 1784 George III did recognize the need for harmony between the Commons and the government. He dismissed a minister whom he disliked but who had the support of the House, and appointed his own favorite. In order to create the necessary harmony between Commons and the new ministry, he dissolved the House, and relied on the people to return a House favorable to his new Cabinet. Fortunately for his self-esteem, the people obliged him and supported the choice of the king.

Here the dissolution was used, not merely to coerce a defiant House, but to restore equilibrium to the two branches of the government. For the first time, the king employed the dissolution, not for his personal ends only, but for the restoration of parliamentary harmony. Although it was still considered that the monarch alone decided on the dissolution, and although the underlying cause was still personal, the principle of cabinet government was beginning to be recognized.

[In a succeeding article the author will conclude the discussion of Anglo-American democratic forms and the difficulty of transplanting western democracy.]

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Handel discovers by accident a new musical medium

The Father of the Oratorio

By Charlotte E. Braun

THE musician's hands fell away from the harpsichord keys. For a few moments he sat there, as if in a trance, then turned to his servant who had entered, drawn by the music. "I did think I did see all Heaven before me, and the great God Himself," he said, wonderingly. George Frideric Handel had just composed the stirring "Hallelujah," the triumphant chorus which climaxed the *Messiah* oratorio. He had given the world a great religious work which, in time, was to become associated with the very spirit of Christmas.

The words are a key to the character of his composition. Always, there was something trance-like and other-worldly about him when he sat down at the keyboard of harpsichord or organ and let the music that was within him pour out.

However, the musician had inauspicious beginnings. George Frideric Handel, born in Halle, Saxony, in 1685, was a product of the middle class that was just finding its place in the scheme of things. It was a colorless group, addicted to material gain, sobriety and the righteous way of life. Artistic furbelows, music included, were frowned upon and left to the province of the ruling classes, with their private music groups and their *Kapellmeisters*. Certainly they were not for the son of the noted barber-surgeon of Halle. For him was decreed the staid respectability of the solid citizen—a lawyer, perhaps who would have his position in his tight little circle in Halle, looked up to, as his father before him, by all the lesser people. These were the plans of George Handel, senior, as, in his sixty-first year, he looked upon his last-born son.

A chance visit of the two Handels to the court of the Duke of Saxe-Weissenfels changed all these plans. George Frideric was then seven years old and had, for some time, been receiving secret musical instruction. Now, he sat down at the organ of the duke's private chapel and played—tunes he had heard in church, improvisations, anything that came to his mind. Delighted by this precocity, the duke filled his pockets with gold pieces and urged his further musical instruction. George, the elder, was not pleased with his son's showing but agreed, grudgingly, that he might have further instruction, provided his other studies were not neglected.

While Halle had once been a musical center, the arts encouraged by a gay court, little remained of that now. The city boasted one good musician, the church organist, Zachow, who in three years had taught young George Frideric all he knew.

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Only he, in all Halle, recognized Handel's talent and urged him to go to Berlin, which the Electress Charlotte was trying to make the musical hub of Europe.

Berlin was a strange atmosphere for the young boy (Handel was then 11 years old), particularly after the staid solemnity and provincialism of Halle. However, he caught the eye or rather the ear of the Electress. Since a well-turned musical phrase was the "open Sesame" to the inner circle of the court, Handel's unusual talent, the sweetness and beauty of his music, met with phenomenal success. The Elector begged the elder Handel to let his son enter the royal service. Father Handel, suspicious of musicians and connecting them in his mind with the miserable singing bands that roved the streets of Halle, sternly ordered his son to return home. Thus, George Frideric returned once more to follow the carefully marked path to success which his father had ordained.

FINAL BREAK

But the atmosphere of Halle, with its thatched roofs, its narrow streets (and narrower minds), its Calvinist and Lutheran doctrine, was oppressive. Handel tolerated it for six years, then, at 18, he made his final break. His movements from then on were aimless, influenced by the fancy of the moment. For no reason in particular he wandered first to Hamburg, which was then beginning to make its mark in the world of music. It was also noted for its low morals and the general condition of wildness that prevailed, especially in musical circles.

Yet, in the midst of all this, Handel remained strangely aloof. His first and last love was music, and none of the charms of the beauties of the theatre or society could lure him from it. However, one amusing incident of the Hamburg interlude is recorded. Handel, barely 19, was offered the position of church organist at Luebeck; its present incumbent, the world famous Buxtehude, had reached the age of retirement. Full of hope, Handel and his companion, Mattheson, journeyed to Luebeck, only to find that the position had strings attached to it—apron strings—for the requirement was that the lucky successor marry the daughter of his predecessor! Since the young lady was a good 16 years older, Handel declined the honor.

Back in Hamburg, Handel started to make a name for himself. He was no longer content to be a mere hanger-on for Keiser, the musical mentor of the day. Furthermore, his talent clearly set him above the crowd of amateurs and dilettantes who were having their hey-day. The antagonism of the latter was only natural, and Handel took the path of least resistance. Rather than stay and fight petty jealousies he set out for Italy.

It was in Italy, first in Florence, later in Venice and Rome, that Handel laid the foundations of his early music which was to sweep him to popularity in London. The Italian opera had reached a high point of development; Handel was to take it to still greater heights. There, too, he made an acquaintance that was to shape his future career, for he met Prince Ernest of Hanover, younger

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brother of the man who was to become George I of England. Prince Ernest was much taken with Handel's second opera, *Agrippina,* which had just been produced, and urged the young composer to visit Hanover. Thus, at 25, George Frideric Handel became *Kapellmeister* to the Hanoverian court. However, he was still gripped by wanderlust and asked for a leave of absence to visit London.

Why he chose London is difficult to say. Music in that capital had gone into a decline, with Italian opera, in particular, in disfavor. Therefore, Handel's continental successes were more hindrance than help. With characteristic energy, he set about changing the state of affairs and, in 1711, his opera *Rinaldo* was produced. Clearly, Handel was just what London needed. The opera was an immediate success, the composer feted in the *salons* and received in the highest social circles. Unfortunately, it was necessary for him to return to Hanover, but the scene of his great successes drew him back, and in 1712 he returned to London, this time to stay.

ALTERNATE CYCLES

There began for Handel the first of a series of cycles that were, alternately, to carry him to the pinnacle of success, then to the very doors of the debtor's prison. He lived in a world to which he never quite accommodated himself, for he clung to his musical integrity. He never catered to the musical taste of the time, unless it was of his own making. Instead, he would temporarily retire from the scene and continue composing in solitude, until the public's taste changed again.

In the fickle society of his day, when opera—and all other forms of music—were considered merely a means for the amusement of the elite, the ups and downs were almost constant. It was seldom the quality of the music that counted, for, more often than not, the boxes at the opera were the scene of social gatherings, or of flirtations, with little or no attention paid to the music. It was a situation to try the patience of any musician.

Then, too, there were rivalries among the nobility for the support of popular musicians. At one time, such rivalry nearly ruined Handel's career. It began with a quarrel in the royal family between George II and the Prince of Wales. In retaliation for his father's attitude, the prince proceeded to ruin Handel, who was enjoying high favor at Court and in London in general. A rival theatre was set up under his auspices—the "Opera of the Nobility"—supported by a group of young nobles seeking a new form of amusement. The plot against Handel succeeded, but the young nobles also ruined themselves, financially, and while they retired from the field of music in confusion, Handel dropped out of sight, temporarily, to pick up the pieces and make a new start.

There was a third factor in operation against Handel. This was the unpopularity of the German court of the Georges. His nationality was forever thrown in his teeth. Unhappily, though he lived there for years, he never quite mastered the English language and this contributed to the ridicule to which he was subjected. It was odd that he could never learn English. After a

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two-year sojourn in Italy, he spoke that language well and handled all his libretti with ease. Yet his English librettists had greater difficulties. Dr. Morell tells of being awakened at five o'clock in the morning by the sound of a carriage driving into his yard. Handel poked his head out of the window and shouted up to the sleepy Morell: "What de devil means de vord 'billow'?" The word appeared in an oratorio Morell had just finished. Laughingly, the latter explained that billow meant a wave, of the sea. Handel thought a moment: "Oh, de vave!" he exclaimed, the light dawning suddenly, and, without another word, drove off.

BIRTH OF THE ORATORIO

In a way, the adversity which beset Handel and his Italian operas may be credited with showing him the way to the true fame he enjoys to this day. What is remembered of Handel's operas, beautiful though they were? Most people can name only one tune, that known as the "Largo" from the opera *Serse*. It was the oratorio which gave him the real claim to fame, and he came upon that form of music entirely by chance. An obscure choir singer, Gates by name, was a great admirer of the master's music and, in his honor, arranged a performance of one of Handel's early works, *History of Hester,* as a birthday surprise. Upon hearing it again, Handel planned to produce it on the stage of the Haymarket Theatre, but Dr. Gibson, the Bishop of London, was horrified at the idea of having a religious play performed on a common stage, and banned the production. It was then that Handel conceived the idea of producing it as a choral work without staging, scenery or action. Thus, a humble choir singer and a narrow-minded ecclesiatic were responsible for the birth of one of the noblest forms of music.

Despite the popularity of the new music, Handel clung stubbornly to the opera. His stubborness almost ruined him. He was forced to close the doors of Covent Garden and once again he dropped from sight, going to Aachen in the hope of finding peace of mind as well as body. Apparently, the restful atmosphere after the hectic pace of London's theatre season benefitted him. Also, he came to realize his error in persisting with his operas when his music could find much nobler expression in the oratorio. With characteristic energy he threw himself into the composition of two new oratorios. The first, *Saul,* was completed in three months; the second, *Israel in Egypt,* took but a month to compose. Although the public was not yet ready for this type of music, Handel had found his true medium of expression.

The composition of his greatest work, the *Messiah,* was not begun until three years later. In what is perhaps the greatest feat in musical composition, Handel completed the work in 24 days! During all this time he did not leave his rooms, those simple, sparsely furnished chambers, with only a few good paintings to relieve their bare monotony. He scarcely ate or slept and he would allow no one to see him who might interrupt the note-

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that flowed so freely from his pen. There is no doubt that he was profoundly moved by the music.

Sensing the antagonism of the London public, Handel decided to take the oratorio to Dublin for its first performance. The reaction there must have been gratifying, after the snubs and insults which the Londoners had inflicted on him in the past years. Once more he was hailed as a master of his art and, with renewed courage, he took the work to London. The performance was a great social event, attended by the king and his court. So moved was the former that as the chorus began the stirring "Hallelujah", he rose to his feet and remained standing for the duration of the number. It is a custom which still survives, a mark of tribute to the majesty of Handel's music.

Yet four years were to pass before Handel finally achieved that lasting popularity which has endured to this day. In the interim he had composed a number of other oratorios, *Semele, Joseph, Belshazzar* and *Judas Maccabeaus*. The last, completed in 1747, swept him to the heights. Suddenly the musical taste of London matured, the full support of the Court was with him, and the Court itself had gained some measure of popularity in crushing the Stuart rebellion. Society, which had alternately shunned and idolized Handel, flocked to hear his music, but Handel was no longer interested in their support. His music was now directed to the public in the pit, which came to listen, not to talk. Nor did he attend the *salons*, where once he had introduced the most famous European singers to their patrons. Instead, he shuffled through the streets, generally alone, often talking to himself, until blindness forced him to take a companion. His heavy figure, with its peculiar rolling gait, became a legend in London. For 13 years, till his death in 1759, he enjoyed this popularity and its material benefits, and Handel, who had been a beggar in 1746, left an estate worth £20,000 when he died.

The tragedy of his last years was the blindness that came with terrifying suddeness. He, who had survived illness, who had laughed off the spiteful attacks of his enemies, who had accepted poverty, finally gave way to despair. Only his music saved his sanity, and he would extemporize for hours at the harpsichord or organ. At the end, in his seventy-fourth year, he gave 10 concerts in one month. Fittingly, his last appearance was in the *Messiah* —his greatest work wrote *finis* to his life. He died during Easter Week, as had been his wish, and was buried in Westminster Abbey with the ceremony befitting a king.

A fitting epitaph has been written by other great musicians. By Beethoven who, in his last illness pointed to a collection of Handel's works, declaring: "There lies the truth!" By Mozart: "When Handel chooses, he can strike like a thunderbolt." By Haydn: "He is the master of us all."

• Sign observed on a well-battered jalopy: "Drive what's left—right."

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The dance of the bees

Swarm Prom

By W. A. S. Douglas

From his column "On the Sun Beam:" in The Chicago Sun

FEW of us, outside of beekeepers, know how gracefully bees dance or are aware that bees have regular dances after the fashion of sororities, fraternities, etc. I never knew about it until I watched the bees' first dance of the year—through a glass panel. This party occurs when "palm" pollen or "bee bread" begins to appear on the bushes; they call it "bee bread" because the bees use it as feeding mixture for the babies. The first bee that finds the pollen loads up the baskets on her hind legs and makes for home.

The successful bee comes up to the sentries who guard the hive entrance; they cross whiskers with her and if she hasn't the right smell, proving she is a member of the clan, they bite off her head and wings and throw out the remains. Another thing I have learned is that each hive has its own individual order; no password is needed. Clear of the gates, the pollen-carrier rushes to the combs, hits the nursery in the center —where the babies are being cared for by the bee nurses—and unloads her baskets. Then she starts off that first dance of the season.

She curves, then she waltzes, then she pirouettes, then she goes into a sort of jazz, shaking hips and stomach; thus she throws around the smell of the new pollen and so stirs up the crowded combs. In a few seconds, the whole hive is in commotion. The forager-bees leave the combs, dive out of the entrance and are off to the feeding ground.

The next dance comes when the fruit trees and bushes start to blossom. The first finder comes back in a rush, her baskets filled this time with honey; she dumps the honey in a cell and starts her dance—just a slow pirouette this time. The fellow workers get off again to the new-found field, which may be a couple of miles away. Keen-scented as they are, they can't smell that far; but they don't have to, for the finder-bee tells them as she dances!

The swarm dance is the greatest occasion of the year; it is no *pas seul*; everybody takes part. Fifty thousand bees move out in perfectly ordered motion; they dance over each other's backs, underneath each other's tummies, advance in groups, toward other groups, for all the world like the measures of an old-time minuet; then they join and go down the middle like Henry Ford's guests dancing the Lancers or a quadrille. Others whirl around in a circle, leaving a clear space in the center as though for a maypole or a mulberry bush. The sentries forget their work of guarding the entrances and join in the merry, mad frenzy.

And then the queen comes out, guarded by thousands who have not yet taken part in the dance. Her majesty moves slowly at first; she has

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only been out once before in the sunlight and that was on her wedding day. Her escorts now dance majestically around her and the noble lady gathers her courage; more than that, her subjects gradually intoxicate her with their own joy and feeling of well-being. She realizes the sunniness and the sweetness of the spring weather, and, of a sudden, she whirls along, leading her escorts.

The dance is in full swing with everybody taking part when the scout bees come rushing into the heart of the merriment with news of the new home, a dry hollow in a tree, a hole in the roof of an abandoned house, shed or barn. The queen and her advisors receive the news, accept the new palace. Stiff-legged, the bees now whirl forward in a long military formation lines. The queen dances into the entrance of her new home, her attendants circle round, her subjects fill up a larger circle, settle down; moving day is over.

We said the dancing bee *told* her fellow workers where they would find the honey; beekeepers believe that bees "talk" by semaphoring with their antennae; they can only communicate emotion by sound; thus a certain pitch of a hum means danger, a low hum means food, and so on. It would seem certain that conversation is carried on by signals.

Retribution and revenge at Nuremburg

Don't Call it "Justice"

By William Henry Chamberlin

From his column "Where the News Ends" in The New Leader

THE decision to try war criminals has passed from the stage of discussion to the phase of action. We have been reading accounts and seeing pictures of the trials of the warden and guards of the infamous Belsen concentration camp. Plans are well advanced for a mass trial of leading Nazis. A batch of 40 alleged war criminals was arrested in Japan and General Yamashita is already on trial in Manila.

The ethical issues involved in these trials of vanquished by victors are more complicated than many Americans, in the heat of war passion, would be willing to recognize. There is a strong emotional case for holding the trials. To launch an aggressive or unnecessary war is certainly one of the greatest crimes against humanity that can be imagined. Making every allowance for exaggerations in individual cases, there can be no reasonable doubt that Nazi brutalities against civilian noncombatants, especially against Jews, in occupied countries and Japanese maltreatment of prisoners went beyond the bounds of what might be called permissible frightfulness in war. (One must admit that after the invention of the atomic bomb it is pretty difficult to say what those bounds are.)

Yet it would be an illusion to

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expect that justice, in any proper sense of the word, will be vindicated in these trials. All that can be anticipated is a reasonably qualified and intelligent meting out of revenge and retribution.

There will be no justice first of all because these are trials of vanquished by victors. The moral authority of the courts which will sit in judgment would have been enormously strengthened by the inclusion of qualified German and Japanese liberal jurists and representatives of neutral countries like Switzerland and Sweden. The unanimous condemnation of such a truly international court (and condemnation could have scarcely failed to be unanimous in the cases when overwhelming proof of bestial cruelty and sadism was presented) would have carried infinitely greater weight in the defeated countries and in neutral lands than the foregone conclusions of a victor's court.

A second reason why one should not look for justice, in the proper sense of the word, in the projected trials of war criminals, is that true justice must be universal and must be administered in accordance with a generally accepted code of law. Both those conditions are lacking in the projected trials.

To treat aggressive war as a crime, to show that crime does not pay, are attractive ideals. Unfortunately the record of this war, as of most other wars, indicates that it is not aggression *per se* that fails. It is only aggression which is not back up by sufficient force.

What logical answer could be made if one of the defendants should recall that the Soviet Union launched an aggressive war against Finland in 1939, in violation both of the Kellogg Pact and of its own voluntarily concluded non-aggression treaty with Finland? Further research into the history of the years 1939 and 1940 would reveal that the annexation of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, the seizure of Eastern Poland, were similarly carried out in a spirit of aggressive warfare, in clear violation of the Kellogg Pact and of specific treaty obligations.

If the treatment of the Jews by the Nazis in Germany before the outbreak of the war is to be treated as a brutal and outrageous crime, which it certainly was, what voice will be raised to demand similar punishment for Soviet authorities who meted out equally brutal and outrageous treatment to kulaks and other groups which fell under the displeasure of the dictatorship? It is this lack of universal standards of evenhanded justice that greatly weakens the moral force of the war trials.

The wholesome deterrent effect of the trials on potential aggressors is sometimes advocated as a point in favor of holding them. But the lesson which a potential aggressor might well draw from trials conducted along the projected lines might well be twofold: that it is unwise to attempt aggression without sufficient force and that it will go hard with the defeated in future wars. It is hardly necessary to teach such lessons to aggressors.

The war criminal trials will perform some useful social sanitation insofar as they uncover and remove from circulation individuals whose crimes and cruelties were so de

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praved that the perpetrators are clearly a menace to society. The obvious limitations of the trials from the standpoint of applying universal justice will be mitigated if the organizers adhere to the following elementary rules of equity:

1. No German or Japanese should be treated as war criminal for actions which could be represented as patriotic duty if committed by Americans or British, Frenchmen or Russians.

2. There should be no proscription of whole classes or groups under the pretext of destroying war criminals. Guilt should be determined on strictly individual grounds.

3. Lists of war criminals should include only individuals whose offenses have been so shocking and inhuman that decent public opinion in the defeated countries will recognize that they deserve special punishment.

4. Trials, even of the most notorious criminals, should be meticulously fair. An excellent model to avoid was the trial of Pierre Laval. An excellent model to follow was the behavior of Major Thomas Winwood, appointed to defend the commandant of the Belsen camp, who mentioned that concentration camps had been set up by the British during the Boer War and were not unknown in British controlled territory in the Near East.

There are not many officers of a victorious army who would frankly uncover the seamy sides of their own country's record in an effort to say what little could be said on behalf of a loathsome specimen of the defeated enemy. It is because of men like Major Winwood and their inflexible standards of justice that free countries, with all their sins of omission and commission, do not have on their consciences anything as bad on a grand scale as Dachau, Belsen or the Solovietsky Islands.

• In these days of unemployment, one "industry" is suffering from a shortage of manpower. New York's Sing Sing Prison has received 2,000 fewer prisoners during the war than for a similar period prior to Pearl Harbor. All the warden has to say about the local "depression" is: "It can't last."

• It is somewhat dubious whether or not travel helps international relations. The G.I.'s abroad have evoked this comment from the Belgian Information Center: "What is the difference between the occupation and the liberation? Under the occupation the women kept their men in hiding; since the liberation the men keep their women in hiding."

• Various individuals reacted in diverse ways when gasoline rationing became a thing of the past. In contrast to the motorist who said, "Fill 'er up and let a gallon run on the ground" is the Wyoming man who drove into a filling station where an attendant inquired, "Fill 'er up?"

"Naw," replied the motorist. "Gimme two. For four years I've had to buy four gallons at a crack, and now I'm gonna buy just as little as I durn please."

• Note found in a typewriter near a battered safe in a Philadelphia post office: "Now is the time for all good men to come to the aid of me because I cannot open the safe."

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An "iron curtain" divides the State Department and the press

The State Department and the Press

By Arthur Krock

From his column "In the Nation" in the New York Times

A STATE Department that shoots from the hip is likely to miss the target and startle the bystanders, as illustrated by the still inexplicable public lecture which Under-Secretary Acheson read to General MacArthur on the undisputed distinction between making policy and carrying it out. A State Department cannot take on operating functions and the remnants of agencies in dissolution, as the present one is doing, without running the risk that comes with trying to turn a highly specialized business into a general store. And a State Department that tries to perform all its delicate tasks in full public view will not get many of them done.

But in this last connection, there is a useful middle ground to be taken, and some promise is visible that Secretary Byrnes, after his unfruitful experience with dogged secrecy at the recent London conference of Foreign Ministers, plans to take it. This would not require laying open to the press and public all the records of the Department, past, present and progressive, as has been urged by those who take too literally the slogan of "open covenants openly arrived at." Other parties to negotiation, especially when they are sovereign states and allies, must be considered in such transactions. But representatives of the State Department, in international conference or at their various posts, can properly guide the press by seeing that, through no fault of its own, it is not misinformed; and that, when its inquiries are as legitimate as its interest—which is almost always—essential information is forthcoming.

This is what Mr. Byrnes' friends say he is determined to do, although he will first have to break down a professional habit of secrecy in the Department and certain inclinations of his own. It remains to be seen how well this determination will be proved in practice, and opportunities to judge will be plentiful in the immediate future.

Of course, government is loath to admit its errors or to spread on the record an account of errors from which it was saved. The State Department cannot be expected to display a different behavior in these respects. One well-vouched-for example will serve to illustrate.

When the procedure for Japanese surrender was being worked out at the Department somebody (his identity is modestly concealed) had a brilliant idea. It was that Hirohito must come aboard the *Missouri* in person to sign the articles of capitulation. There was much in this that was attractive and commendable, and, from the viewpoint of American psychology, it had strong

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merits. We had defeated a brutal enemy which fought and murdered and mistreated American prisoners of war, in the Emperor's name. Let him appear in person and sign as a proper mark of submission to us and a disillusioning spectacle for the cult of Emperor worship. That was the reasoning at the Department.

At this time Under-Secretary Grew, who lived long in Japan and knows that people, was still in office. When the plan was with great pride revealed to him—after it was determined on—he said he understood all the arguments in favor but that he thought it should not be attempted. In the first place, he said, the Emperor probably would not willingly appear for such a purpose. If he refused, and was produced by force, the consequences to our then meager force in Japan might be serious, and the surrender might even be withdrawn. If he refused, and the refusal was allowed to stand, the United States would dangerously lose "face" in an area where that is all-important, and the task of occupation would become much more difficult and costly in lives.

His colleagues, however, decided to proceed with their stipulation, and the arrangement was proposed as American policy to our allies in the war against Japan. The British, on much the same grounds Mr. Grew had cited, proposed that the Emperor be allowed to delegate the power to sign. The plan was therefore abandoned for the successful procedure that was adopted, which laid the groundwork for the most useful cooperation of the Emperor with General MacArthur that followed, and Hirohito's transmutation from an invincible god into the leader of a beaten people.

The State Department, if the occasion arises, may see fit to deny, or decline to admit the truth of, this chapter from the amateurish record which some thought it was making in the first stages of its latest re-organization. But, whatever it might say, if questioned, there was no chance that the episode would voluntarily be related to the American people. That is asking too much of government as it is conducted, and that is not what is meant by those who are urging Mr. Byrnes to demolish the cult of blind, instinctive secrecy that has always flourished in the State Department.

All that is wanted by reasonable persons, and all the Department can grant without risking its effectiveness, is a policy which would, for instance, have given legitimate information and guidance to the American correspondents at London, who were obliged to go abroad for their facts, and a good instead of a bad press to Mr. Byrnes. That policy could begin with successful pressure on the War Department to remove the restrictions which have been newly imposed on the press of the United States in the Orient.

• And then there was the man who, when seated in the dentist chair, heard a radio blaring. "Would it be possible," he asked the dentist, "to stop that radio. I know six teeth have to come out, but I don't want it done to the tune of *The Yanks Are Coming.*"

—*South African Forum*

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Japanese liberals fill Shidehara's Cabinet

Japan's Best

By Chester Rowell

From his column in the San Francisco Chronicle.

THE new Japanese Cabinet, headed by Baron Kijuro Shidehara, and evidently endorsed, as to all its members, by General MacArthur, is an extraordinary group of able, distinguished and trustworthy liberals. They are, in fact, the best men in Japan, still surviving from the old liberal group, after the numerous "purges," by murder and outlawry, which made possible the militarist usurpation and brought on the present war.

It was my personal good fortune to know most of them, as well as their murdered colleagues, during the brief period of precarious liberalism in Japan. There is no room here for more than the briefest mention of most of them.

Suffice it to say, in general, that they are all members of distinguished Japanese families; have all held high official positions, in Japan and abroad; have all been educated in America or Europe, all know the world (and, incidentally, speak good English or French) and have served in the diplomatic service in many countries. Few countries could find so many men of such training, experience and talent, to make up a government. Even America has had no such single group, since the first administrations of the old Federalist period.

Baron Shidehara was Foreign Minister in the government which the Manchurian insurrection overthrew. He was opposed to the whole war policy, and especially to the invasion and exploitation of China. He rightly thought that the industrial development of China was the great business opportunity for Japanese industry, and that an effective governmental unity of China was the one assurance of Oriental peace and progress.

Shidehara not only believed these things, but he risked—and sacrificed—his governmental career for them. He still believes them and is willing to take even greater risks now. Unfortunately, he is no longer young, and is reported to have been for some time in failing health. The last time I saw him he was in excellent condition, but discouraged at the hopelessness of combating the rising militarist usurpation.

Shidehara, a law graduate of the Tokyo Imperial University, served as consul in various posts; was Councillor to the Embassy at Washington as a young man and was afterwards Minister to the Netherlands, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador at Washington and Japanese Foreign Minister. He is related by marriage to the Mitsubishi industrial family but was always independent of their political entanglements.

Foreign Minister Shigeru Yoshida

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is, if anything, an even more interesting personage. His wife, Yukiko, daughter of Count Makino, distinguished diplomat and internationalist of the Meiji period, is an exceptionally brilliant and charming lady, and still more liberal than her husband. There is no room here to recall many personal incidents, illustrating her many-sided personality, which I had the good fortune to experience.

Yoshida himself filled diplomatic positions, including the Ambassadorship to Italy and England, and special missions to Europe and America. He was permanent Undersecretary for Foreign Affairs in Tokyo but was jailed during the war for attempting peace negotiations. He is as liberal as a high-class Japanese could then well be, and showed his courage by going to jail for it.

The list is too long to mention most of the others, but one I must include for personal reasons. He is Viscount Keizo Shibusawa, nephew of my old friend Viscount Eiichi Shibusawa, who personally saw the whole history of modern Japan, from the "black ships" of Commodore Perry until he died, at over 90 years old, discouraged at the impending failure of a long lifetime devoted to promoting peace and friendship with America. It is a proud memory to have the friendship of this exemplar of a whole era of history.

The nephew, Keizo, is now president of the Shibusawa Family Company and director of its many banking, industrial and commercial interests. This family, more than any other, made merchandising and international cooperation socially respectable in Japan.

There may be added Zenjiro Horikiri, former Mayor of Tokyo, who headed the reconstruction board after the 1923 earthquake, under another old personal friend, Baron Goto, then in the Cabinet. I had occasion to recount to both of them our experiences after the San Francisco earthquake, and to warn them against repeating our mistakes. To which Goto replied: "As a scientist, I agree with you completely. As a politician, I am sure we will have to make the same blunders." Which they did, only in part.

The rest of the list, there is no room for.

The new government itself may last only until the promised election in January. How that will go may depend on the activities of the Japanese Communist party, whose members MacArthur has released from jail and guaranteed liberty of speech and of political action. MacArthur is no more a communist than Winston Churchill. But evidentally he believes in the political rights, even of communists.

• With the announcement of the Japanese surrender, Captain McMahon, battery commander in Pacific Coastal Command, announced to his troops that nobody was to pull duty the following morning; each man could get up when he pleased; breakfast would be waiting whenever he felt like eating it.

"Yeah," drawled a realistic recruit in the culinary department, "but who's going to cook that breakfast?"

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ARE AMERICAN OFFI

YES!

By Max Knepper

AS a discharged veteran of World War II, I should like to present an aspect of the proposed peace-time conscription which has been overlooked. Though I, in common with most ex-enlisted men of the services, oppose the general idea of peace-time compulsory military training, I concede that world conditions after this war may dictate some form of universal training as a measure of national security. If this should prove to be the case, it is essential that we safeguard our democratic system by a fundamental re-organization of the armed forces.

As they are now constituted, the services are basically anti-democratic, not merely in the machinery of command, but in the broad social sense. Were the services to be maintained on a large scale permanently as they are now governed, their officers would constitute the gravest threat to our democratic system with which it has yet been confronted. The ideological differences between our officer caste and the German fascist-military elements are superficial—for the most part merely a difference of terms. In principle they have more in common than the American armed forces have with the government whose servants they are supposed to be.

The first objection to the present government of the armed forces is the vast powers and privileges conferred on the commissioned officers. By act of Congress the commissioned personnel are "gentlemen," which is to say they are "ennobled." If this were merely an empty honor, except for the principle involved, no appreciable harm would be done. Actually, however, this ennoblement operates to confer on officers material privileges of considerable magnitude. It is small wonder that the majority of regular Army and Navy officers have no sympathy with democratic society and, in a showdown in times of civil stress, could not be relied on as a prop for democracy.

Theoretical considerations aside, if the government requires military service of all male citizens, it is duty-bound to insure that the burden will be as equitable as possible. So long as commissioned personnel enjoy social and material privileges denied the rank and file by law, even relative equality in the services is an impossibility. This being the case, the majority of citizens will be required to submit to inferior treatment and social humiliation merely because they have not elected to become professional officers and therefore lack commissioned status. Though civilian occupations may not rank with "the noble profession of arms," Congress should remember that some-

(Continued on page 338)

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OVER-PRIVILEGED?

NO!

By Lt. W. H. Speck, USNR*

AN attempt to evaluate the place of officers in a democratic service of national defense without even a cursory examination of alternative systems in Russia and among Colonel Carlson's raiders is presumptuous of anyone. But as an officer on a destroyer during almost three years of this war, I believe much can be said in defense of a privileged position for officers.

An Army or Navy officer is expected to be physically fit and to possess at least normal sensory perception; he is expected to have a technical education sufficient for an understanding of the fabulously complicated machines of war; he is expected to be a leader, capable of inspiring confidence in his purposes and his judgment; he must retain the ability to act quickly, courageously and rightly despite months or years of stultifying routine. No officer completely fulfills these expectations, but they remain the measure of his fitness. Luckily several hundred thousand young American men closely enough approximated these expectations to lead us successfully through this war. But a comparison of these qualities with the qualities expected of a business man, a lawyer or a doctor and a sober weighing of the stakes in lives and money with which military men play should be enough to emphasize the importance of good officers.

To these men of whom so much is expected the government offers salaries modest if more secure than the rewards of other professions, and a rigorous, migratory existence often separated from their families at inhospitable stations. In this life money cannot buy them more comfort. An admiral on a carrier could not on any salary buy himself a better sleeping place than one bunk in a tier of four if that was all the government provided him, and the same admiral assigned to duty at a shore establishment would be hard put during his term of duty there to build or rent and furnish quarters commensurate with those he might obtain by similar success in civilian life. Even a fairly good salary would not help an Army second lieutenant to eat better than a high school kid just enlisted unless the Army provided him a separate mess and an opportunity to buy better food. An officer usually obliged to live on station would often find that bringing in help from the outside is prohibited. Very few officers would be content to work all their lives watching

* The opinions and assertions contained herein are the private ones of the writer and are not to be construed as official or reflecting the views of the Navy Department or the Naval Service at large.

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body must produce the wealth necessary to support the nation, including its noble officers.

To impress the reader with the operation of the present system a few typical examples are in order. Officers wear more comfortable clothes of better material and design, eat much better food served under vastly superior conditions, inhabit far better quarters even in the forward areas, are less bound by discipline, enjoy more freedom and, in most instances, are better protected from injury or death.

When I was stationed on a certain island in the South Pacific I had ample opportunity to witness the accepted discrimination between commissioned and enlisted personnel, discrimination which had no bearing on military responsibilities.

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST ENLISTED PERSONNEL

During the early part of the war out there, rations for the enlisted personnel were very bad. The explanation was shortage of shipping space. Space was available, however, for refrigerators, radios and other bulky luxuries for the officers, and liquor to put in the iceboxes. As we moved up the "slot" in the Solomons, enlisted personnel, particularly CB's, were ordered to build luxurious wardrooms and clubs for the officers. The construction of these buildings at considerable expense and labor was justified as boosting officer morale. Nobody worried about the morale of the men, which certainly was not improved by the sight of a privileged few enjoying civilized comforts while they sweated in the steaming jungle to provide them.

Navy regulations prohibit intoxicating liquors on navy ships, but officers stationed ashore are permitted to organize clubs or wine messes on naval stations and are privileged to buy liquor at half prices. Enlisted personnel, not being "gentlemen," are denied similar privileges. In the States this is not so important, but in the tropics and other remote stations the discrimination is keenly felt indeed.

Little entertainment is afforded enlisted personnel in the forward areas, but it is seldom long after territory is wrested from the enemy before an officers' club is established with a well-stocked bar, automatic phonograph and a staff of mess attendants.

A considerable number of enlisted men were put to work on one Solomon island gathering and painting coconuts to provide an Easter egg hunt for the officers and nurses. The men resented it, but what could they do? There was no chance of their complaining to authorities in the States—mail censorship is exclusively a responsibility of commissioned officers.

Another very typical case of discrimination concerned a yeoman whose mother was dying of cancer. He asked to be returned to New York from Noumea after the Red Cross had verified his story. His request was refused by high authority on the grounds of lack of transportation. A few days later a staff officer was notified that his father was seriously ill with a stroke. The Navy Department extended deepest sympathy and the officer was flown

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back to the States. None of the enlisted personnel acquainted with the facts has forgotten that incident.

When I was returning to the States as a survivor from my DE, I took passage on another ship of the convoy more fortunate than ours. The casualty to our ship delayed the others for a number of days, and required transfer of part of their rations. As a result, the crew endured bad and insufficient food. Nothing is more demoralizing to a man's morale than bad chow—except the knowledge that some members of the company aren't sharing it. On the way to our watery canned hash we passed the officers' pantry where the stewards were preparing chicken and freezing ice cream. In justification of their better rations, the officers will tell you that they pay for their food. True, but the government furnishes them a cash allowance with which to do it, and provides transportation and stowage as well.

In civilian life people obtain special privileges sub rosa by paying for them, but at least no one enjoys them by virtue of rank. In the services the opposite prevails. Enlisted personnel, regardless of rank or rate, line up at the PX or ship's service to make their purchases. The officers, however, enjoy the privilege of cutting in line. Few of their privileges antagonize the men more than this one.

TWO KINDS OF JUSTICE

Discrimination extends even to justice. The enlisted man is amenable to arbitrary punishment by his commanding officer plus three types of courts-martial. The commissioned officer may be punished, save for private reprimand, only by general court-martial. In civilian life this would be analagous to designating a certain class as susceptible to trial only before a high federal court for serious crimes and immune to punishment for misdemeanors.

One of the most serious military offenses is absence over or without leave. If an enlisted man reports late he will be summarily thrown in the guardhouse or brig, there to languish until brought before his commanding officer, which may take from a day to a month. At that time he may offer his excuses. Depending upon the circumstances, the man may be awarded anything from five days' confinement on bread and water to a deck, summary, or general court-martial.

If a commissioned officer is late reporting for duty, as frequently is the case, he need only state on his word as a "gentleman" that he was delayed by accident, illness or circumstances beyond his control. This as a rule is sufficient to conclude the matter.

In the armed forces the machinery of justice is vested entirely in the hands of commissioned officers, which means that officers are tried by their peers while the men are not. If a man is awarded an inferior court-martial, chances are he will be tried by the officers in his own command. The case will be tried in the wardroom before it is ever heard formally.

Although theoretically laws and regulations forbid abuse of enlisted personnel by officers and provide a channel for redress of grievances, in practice

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it is next to impossible for a man to bring action against an officer, particularly his commanding officer. Military justice virtually requires the offending officer to prosecute himself and few officers can achieve such a state of detachment! The men realize this, so even in instances where they have a good case they are afraid to initiate action, knowing it would be futile and apt to invite serious reprisals.

There comes to mind a high-ranking naval officer now commanding an important Pacific shore base. This fellow is a chronic drunkard and given to insane fits of rage at his subordinates. One poor sailor he had thrown into the brig for driving a vehicle in front of him, though the sailor had the right of way and no means of knowing the commodore wished to dispute it. Another man was relieved of his duty because he was unable to locate the commodore's dog, which had wandered off the reservation. Still another time he transferred a chief petty officer because a truck driving by his quarters disturbed his sleep. This officer was recently promoted to the rank of commodore, though it is common knowledge that he has not passed a sober day in years. Were an enlisted man in his command to report for duty in a drunken condition, he could expect at least five days' bread and water.

The heavy sentences meted out to enlisted personnel as distinguished from the light awards inflicted on officers for similar offenses is a sad reflection on American justice. Many Australians have expressed to me their shock at the severity of military and naval law as applied to non-commissioned personnel. Only the American people seem oblivious to the medieval and discriminatory code characteristic of our military laws. It should not be forgotten that the Navy Department resisted to the last Congressional action abolishing flogging at the mast as a punishment for seamen.

CONGRESS SHOULD CHANGE LAWS

The fault lies with Congress. The excessive authority and privileges enjoyed by Army and Navy officers derive from acts of Congress. If this body now proposes to require every American youth to don the uniform, it should re-organize the services on a democratic basis.

The first step in such re-organization should be abolition of West Point and Annapolis academies. For decades Congress refused to permit establishment of a Naval academy on the grounds that it would turn out officers more monarchist than republican. It was not until 1845 that the Navy Department overcame Congressional prejudices, which, in retrospect, seem to have been well-grounded. Both academies systematically inculcate their cadets and midshipmen with principles of social snobbery, contempt for civilian standards and government and military arrogance. The average American citizen would be shocked if he heard the doctrines taught both at West Point and Annapolis. He would probably look around to see whether he had gotten into a bund camp by mistake.

Military sciences and tactics can be as efficiently instructed in ordinary colleges and universities, minus the undemocratic atmosphere and social snobbery. In fact, during the present crisis the War and Navy Departments

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were forced to use outside institutions for training officer personnel. The system, with proper democratic modifications, should be employed after the war.

The Articles of War and Articles for the Government of the Navy should be fundamentally revised with view to abolishing the legal, social and material privileges for commissioned personnel. Military justice should be revised and made to apply equitably to all ranks. For one thing, judgments and sentences of courts-martial involving more than minor punishments should be reviewable in the civil courts, which is not now the case.

The laws should abolish all social differences between commissioned and enlisted personnel. Living standards in so far as they are provided by the government directly should be reasonably equal among all grades. The higher ranks should be adequately compensated in the pay scale. Under the present system, the base pay of generals and admirals is low, but they receive many material privileges in addition to expenses and allowances which offset the apparent inadequacy of pay. Such a system is neither desirable nor honest. A general or admiral should be paid $15,000 or $20,000 and be expected to meet his own expenses. The government should not provide his servants from enlisted personnel to wait on his table, carpenters from enlisted personnel to build him luxurious quarters, laundrymen to wash his clothes, men to move his furniture, not to mention the furniture itself.

Congress should forbid military authorities to interfere with the right of military personnel to protest to civil authorities. As it is, much graft, inefficiency and abuse in military and naval circles is suppressed, particularly that occurring outside the continental limits. By the time the men are released from service and have recovered their civil rights, evidence of malfeasance has disappeared or the statute of limitations operates to protect the wrong-doers.

Most of the present laws governing our military forces were passed when military service was in general looked down upon. The enlisted ranks too often were recruited from the underworld or socially underprivileged. Naturally higher type individuals were not attracted by military discipline, low pay and none-too-elevated company. To offset these disadvantages, Congress established certain privileges and immunities for the officer caste. But obviously the need for such privileges, if they were ever justified, no longer obtains. When service becomes compulsory, privileges are no longer required to obtain personnel for any rank or grade.

Regular Army and Navy officers when confronted with the question of democratizing the services clamor that such changes would destroy discipline and impair efficiency. One Annapolis lieutenant told me quite seriously that an aristocratic caste is necessary to maintain discipline. This is a sample of the nonsense taught at that Academy.

Enlisted personnel obey their superiors not because they are "gentle," but because they are vested with authority by the government. Subordinates in military life obey their superiors for the reason that a civilian obeys a policeman, and I have yet to discover a civilian who respects a policeman as

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his social superior. In fact, much of the discipline in the armed forces is maintained by sergeants and petty officers of non-commissioned rank.

It is the responsibility of Congress to see that, if military service is to become an important, permanent feature of our national life, it conforms to the democratic structure. Officers must be inculcated with the attitude that their position is analagous to that of the higher civil servants, no more, no less. The higher ranks will continue to carry greater authority and responsibility and to receive higher pay, but the differences in rank should end with those distinctions.

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their bank balances grow or taking a less mean satisfaction in the good living they could provide their families and meantime continuing to live on the same standard as an apprentice seaman or buck private. And yet unless the Army or Navy provides them a better living the location of their place of work and the transitory character of their stay frustrate their efforts to provide for themselves.

The incentive offered men to seek advancement has always been largely material in money and privileges. Without debating the efficacy of other rewards, such as honor or a concept of service, the adoption of the tried material inducements in a crisis of national defense was natural and probably necessary. Even if service is compulsory for all, the material rewards of advancement and the privileges of rank are the chief spur for most men to hard work and self education. Far too few men would seek advancement in enlisted ranks or seek positions as officers if the only rewards were those they could purchase with their dollars on a ship at sea or in New Guinea jungles. And in time of peace even fewer men would seek a life work in which success brought only more empty dollars. I remember no stampede during the years between the wars into the "much privileged" class of military officers, and I find now among officers no tendency to regard their posts as sinecures to be retained by enlistment as regulars. The fact, rather, seems to be that the job of a military officer does not attract most men with the desired qualifications in spite of the privileges which go with it, and on salary alone would attract even fewer. From the viewpoint of classical economics, then, the rewards must be high enough to produce the supply of men required, and monetary rewards alone during most of a military man's life are meaningless.

SEPARATION OF OFFICERS AND MEN

Aside from the economic necessity of providing inducements sufficient to attract the desired numbers and quality of men into officer ranks, the circumstances of a military organization require that the officer groups receive different treatment. Officers and men should live separately. This separation is desirable both from the point of view of the enlisted men who would like to get away from the officers at least part of the day and from the point of view of the officer who would like to relax from the strain of constant supervision. Some "distance" between the ranks is conducive to discipline.

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Most men obey more promptly and unquestionably an order from an aloof source surrounded by some ritual than an order from a man with whom they eat, sleep and play. Security of information is so important in a military organization that vital information is necessarily confined to a small group, largely officers, and leaks are minimized by reducing the intimacy between this group and the majority. Any friendships between officers and men may lead to suspicion of favoritism on the men's part and embarrassment to the officer.

But the circumstances of a military organization require more than separation: a case can be made for better treatment of officers. An officer's stateroom on a naval ship is usually his office—the place where he must do his paper work, hold conference with his men and store files and equipment; a bunk in a bunkroom would not suffice. An officer is expected to possess intelligence and to use it in planning work and looking ahead, and to facilitate his reflection some degree of privacy and freedom from harrassing routine is desirable. To state what may seem an inequitable extreme, officers should bear lighter burdens so that they will maintain the energy and interest to spur their men to keep up standards and accomplish necessary work. As an illustration, the commanding officer of a naval ship should have privacy, better accommodations and freedom from irksome work and discipline so that he will order drills and establish conditions of readiness undeterred by the weariness or distaste that the normal routine engenders in his subordinates. He must order routine general quarters when he finds that readiness necessary for the safety of the ship even though, and perhaps because, his own exemption from routine duties makes the burden on him measurably lighter.

But I would deny that the special duties and exemptions of officers operate invariably to their advantage. If officers are exempt from working parties, they have extremely burdensome and time consuming duties as mail censors and sometimes as coding officers. If their discipline is lighter, they are expected on their own initiative to maintain higher standards of personal appearance and conduct, to assume greater responsibilities and to maintain greater alertness in their duties. If they are exempt from trial by the lower courts martial, they are more subject to the arbitrary judgment of their commanding officer with almost certain disastrous results for their future naval careers by poor fitness reports and letters of censure. The strain of constant supervision over men—the numerous requests for special privileges, the complaints, the perplexing quarrels and the countless petty infractions, all coming up continuously 24 hours a day—is the officers' special burden.

WAR-TIME OFFICERS FROM THE RANKS

As long as the ranks of officers are reasonably open to all who can meet the standards, the provision of special privileges for them does not violate democratic equality. During this war commissioned ranks were increased ten fold with men chosen from civilian life. The Army procured its new officers from the ranks via officer candidate schools, a thoroughly democratic procedure. The Navy procured its new officers largely from college gradu-

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ates by V-7 programs, a less democratic procedure; but exceptional enlisted men could rise to commissioned rank by V-7 and V-12 programs or by competitive examination for admittance to the Naval Academy. During my service my ship could have obtained larger V-7 and V-12 quotas than it could fill, and several of the men selected as the best fitted on the ship later failed to qualify as officers. Despite these opportunities some men of high caliber were barred from commissions by failure to meet the fixed standards or by the prejudice of their superiors. But by and large most superior men were able to obtain commissioned rank.

All the above is not to deny the great justice of many complaints against the officer system. A few officers are bereft of the qualities they should possess. Many have become infatuated with their supposed superiority to the point of social snobbery and an irritating emphasis upon their privileges. There have been a few instances in forward areas where officers, unmindful of their responsibilities for the welfare of their men, have diverted an unwarranted proportion of limited labor, materials and shipping space to provide clubs for themselves. The provision for petty discipline of officers by fitness reports and letters of censure work undue hardship on the career officer whose life prospects may be blighted and is unduly easy on a temporary officer who only seeks to get out as soon as the war is over.

The unfortunate propensity of some officers for drink is partly custom and habit (officers' recreation facilities always include a bar and rarely more) and partly a reaction from the strain of their work and their long absence from a normal home life. Enlisted men show less responsibility in this regard. The archaic uncomfortableness and inconvenience of a sailor's uniform in contrast with that of his officers and of an army private is notorious. The unfairness of granting officers terminal leave and denying the same to enlisted men is being widely protested. Recrimination upon men for complaints voiced in letters home may have occurred, although I on the censoring side have never known or heard of any, but anything of that sort is definitely bad taste and contrary to the regulations. Some officers in consideration of their own men's feelings never censor mail of men of their own division. Wardroom discussion of court-martial cases may also occur, although again I have never known or heard of any despite membership on many court-martial, but such talk is illegal and should evoke severe punishment.

Of proposals made for reform, the suggestion that money alone will attract men to officer ranks has for reasons already mentioned been questioned. Without doubt more emphasis should be placed upon the state of trust in which an officer holds his privileges and upon his duty to exercise them in such a manner as to minimize irritation and inconvenience to enlisted men. Many officers have forgotten this responsibility and have callously exercised privileges without regard for the enlisted men. Perhaps closer supervision should be exercised over courts-martial, but review or appeal to civil courts is out of question. The right of servicemen to petition their commanding officers for redress of grievances and their further right to complain by letter to the Secretary of War or of the Navy should be more widely publicized. A

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well grounded complaint could not but be embarrassing to a commanding officer; and an ill grounded one would be valueless even as a basis for relief by appeal to civilian authorities. After a serviceman has exhausted his means of redress within the military organization and after notice of his intentions, I can see little objection to an airing of complaints with civil authorities. Such a procedure would insure that complaints are not petty and that the military organization is given a chance to solve them first.

COMPULSORY MILITARY TRAINING

If a substantial military organization proves to be necessary, compulsory military training would be the democratic way of obtaining personnel. A professional Army smacks of the rich hiring the poor to defend them; compulsory military training makes all share in the defense of the state. Compulsory training could bring about a more rapid turnover in the lower ranks and officers and infuse the higher with a leaven of non-West Point-Annapolis men who elected to stay in service. Young men could be drafted upon completion of high school or upon becoming 18, whichever is later; those going on to college could be given an option of taking an ROTC or NROTC course in college, and upon its successful completion serve their term of military training as officers. Those not going on to college could be given opportunities to compete for entrance to one of the military academies or in exceptional cases be commissioned from the ranks. If the door to the special privileges of commissioned rank is left open to enlisted men who can meet the standards, the existence of the privileges is not undemocratic.

Yet all talk of a democratic military organization is largely illusory: the military is not democratic. The necessary restrictions upon a large number of men in order to maintain organization, the centralization of authority and the devotion to the welfare of the state rather than the welfare of its members, which characterizes a military organization, are inconsistent with democracy as it is generally understood. On the problem of the position of officers, what we mean by a democratic army is, I suppose, that it is subservient to the democratic government which it is created to protect and that within its ranks no special class enjoys privileges not necessary for its duties and not open to others similarly qualified. By this standard our Army and Navy are democratic.

[*The editors of FORUM welcome any opinions or suggestions from its readers on the controversial subject of democracy in the armed forces.*]

• One day a young man came in great perplexity to the clergyman, Dwight L. Moody, and said, "Mr. Moody, I want to reform and lead a better life. But I don't know how I can give up my undesirable companions.

"That's not difficult, young man," replied the revivalist. "Just live a good life and the undesirable companions will give you up."

—*Christian Science Monitor*

• Counter Irritant: the woman who shops all day and buys nothing.

—*Milwaukee Journal*

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If it's not hats, it's hair

"Off With Her Head"

By Ralph T. Jones

From his column in The Atlanta Constitution

"ONE Moment, Please, to Rewind the Film." Do you remember when that was one of the two most familiar slides which used to be shown on the screen of your favorite nickelodeon? The other—and naturally most popular—was the slide depicting a poor little guy seated behind a female with a mountainous arrangement of flowers and ribbons and feathers on her head and worded, "Ladies Will Kindly Remove Their Hats."

Too large feminine headgear always was, and is, criminally selfish when worn inside a place of entertainment, where it blocks the view of the unfortunate in the seat behind.

But, after all, feminine headgear and hair adornment have been civilized and moderate in your time, and my time, compared with what the dear things considered the style only a few hundred years ago.

Read Samuel Pepys, or some of his contemporaries, if you would understand the atrocities to which the hairdressers of fashionable London resorted, once upon a time.

Fashionable women wore hair arrangements so tall they could not sit in a sedan chair, when sedan chairs were customary transportation. They had to kneel on the floor, elbows resting on the seat and hands supporting their topheavy heads, because otherwise the roof was too low to accommodate the hair.

Nor was it their own hair. Not even hair at all, much of it. The hairdresser, using the victim's hair as foundation, with perfumed lard and other greases as mortar, used false hair, ribbons, imitation flowers, jewels—real and imitation—and all sorts of other things to build up a busby that towered eighteen inches or a couple of feet above the head. Talk about "upswept" hairdo! Them were the days!

Such fashion involved many other adaptations besides kneeling in a sedan chair. They were costly and required hours to create. They were supposed to outlast the social season, six months or more. Hence the smart women had special head-rests instead of pillows, so they could sleep in bed without damaging the hairdresser's creation. They had special protective shields for the same purpose.

Unfortunately, the greases did not remain fresh for the required six months. They became rancid and foul smelling. But the slaves of fashion endured them and, when they could find it, simply doused their heads in more perfume, seeking to overcome the unpleasant odors.

Furthermore, such long-lived nests were ideal for the little creatures

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that love to live and breed in warm, dark places. Let us, politely, call 'em nits and admit, at once, that milady's hairdo was alive with them, most of the time.

Let us, too, think with horror and sympathy of the husbands of the women. The husband who laid his own faithful head on the pillow alongside such a contraption. Gosh, they must have loved their wives, in those days. And no wonder they were addicted to snuff. Any thing to dull the olfactory nerves.

There is at least one recorded case where such a long-suffering husband was granted a divorce on the grounds that the odor of his wife's headdress nauseated him and thus destroyed his health.

What of the wretch who sat behind such a montrosity in a London theater in the time of Charles II?

Not only the females were guilty of head fantasies, though. The fashionable male was almost as bad.

There was the era when men, universally, wore wigs. Heavy, curled cumbersome creations.

Old Sam Pepys tells how he had to take his wigs, regularly, to the hairdressers to be deloused. What a lot of head scratching, not inspired by mental puzzlement, must have gone on in those days!

Which again changes our subject. Did you know that, once upon a time, there were special posts conveniently placed on the street and market places for the scratching of pest-troubled back?

Furthermore, did you know it was against the law for any save the aristocracy to use those back-scratching posts? The common people could only, it is presumed, scratch each other's back.

Surely, the customs of society have have improved through the centuries.

Even to the point where we no longer see the "Ladies Remove Hats" signs in our movie houses. Though, to be candid, there are still occasions when such a sign, or something more effective, could well be shown to the dear things who sit in the row in front of me. Now and then.

• Reconversion note: The probate judge at Blackfoot, Idaho, finished the marriage ceremony. To the ex-soldier groom he said, "Salute the bride in the customary fashion," and to his surprise the husband drew himself up smartly and gave his bride a neat military salute.

• A certain twelve-year-old was about to be caned for some trivial offense. The headmaster asked how he preferred to receive his punishment.

"Well, sir," said the boy quickly, "if you please, I'd like it like the Greek style of penmanship."

"What on earth do you mean?"

"Please, sir, the upstrokes heavy and the downstrokes light."

—*Cumberland Presbyterian*

• The convivial husband had a friend to stay with him for the week-end. As the guest was being shown to his room he noticed faint crosses on several of the stair steps, and asked the reason.

"Ah", whispered the host, "these come into operation after midnight, X means that the step creaks."

—*Evening Mail*

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EDITOR

U. S. Control of Atomic Energy

Scientists, legislators and the Army struggle to find a policy which will mitigate the dangers of the atomic bomb.

IT'S UP TO THE SCIENTISTS

President Truman's proposal for a national atomic control board is inadequate. We must go far beyond it.

If the peoples of the world can think about it at all, they are forced to think in terms of world co-operation.

That is a bitter dose for many, for nationalism is strongly implanted in the minds and the hearts of most people of most nations.

In this crisis, political leadership offers the world scant hope. The political leaders of the world have failed to subordinate nationalism to the extent that the world could be protected against its excesses. They have failed to bring their governments together in an effective cooperative organization.

Clearly there must be a revival of the cooperative ideal. Clearly it must come from some source other than the chancellories of the world.

How better could it come than from a manifesto signed by the leading scientists of all nations?

If the leading scientists of the world, in the interest of mankind, joined in proclaiming that a new world force—atomic energy—had made a world revolution in thought necessary, the peoples of the world would listen with respect. The statesmen of the world would be forced to listen and act.

Statesmen would have to devise machinery for making the plan for an international inspection service work. But before they can bring themselves to take such action they, and the peoples of the world; must be brought to realization of the terrible alternative.

This is the job of the scientists. Primarily it is the obligation of those scientists who collaborated in production of the first atomic bomb.

—*Chicago Daily News*

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WHEN THEY ARE UNITED, WE'LL SHARE BOMB SECRET

President Truman's statement on the atomic bomb leaves unanswered the $64 question:

Shall the United States share the secret with Russia?

Probably the reason Truman did not touch on the $64 question is the unhappy collapse of the Foreign Ministers meeting in London.

It is quite possible that Molotov's bull-headedness was aimed less at the issues under discussion and more at the atom bomb.

Whether that's pure hunch or not, Russia must learn that the United States simply will not be pressured that way.

Let Uncle Sam share the atom bomb secret with the United Nations organization when that organization is set up and operating smoothly.

We cannot be expected to share it with a neighbor whose good will is constantly brought into question by his bad manners.

No more can we be expected to share it with an ally who has drawn a line down the middle of Europe, and built upon it a wall beyond which we are plainly unwelcome.

It may be true that Russia will find the atom bomb secret herself within two or three years. But any President would hesitate before yielding such an enormously vital secret at a time when the Allies are more divided in peace than they ever were in war.

If Russia plays tough hombre, and can't be reasoned with when we have the bomb and she hasn't—what would she do if we gave her the secret?

Russia herself wrote the answer—for now—at London.

—Philadelphia Record

GIVE US ATOMIC PROGRAM FOR PEACE, NOT WAR

We spent $2,000,000,000 and probably more developing the atomic bomb. It ended one war. And it was worth it.

It is highly disturbing, and may one day prove tragic, to note that little thought and effort is being directed toward the glorious prospect of turning atomic power to the mighty peaceful uses of which it is capable—uses which would go a long way to prevent wars.

We should like to hear from scientists and others that they can and will develop the atom as a tool of peaceful life, and do it swiftly. The atomic bomb was produced under forced draft,

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and scientists generally, beforehand, believed it could not be done for 50 or 100 years. It was done in two or three.

They say it may be 20 years or longer before industrial uses can be discovered. We could afford to spend another two billions and be richly repaid, if the time can be shortened. That ought to be our atomic program, not the current one of fear and frustration.

—*Philadelphia Inquirer*

ATOMIC BOMB SECRET

The atomic bomb secret should not be revealed to our Allies nor should it be placed under international control. Scientists assert that other industrial nations will be able to work the formula out for themselves within a period of from five to 10 years, but that is no reason why we should let loose the secret of the most destructive instrument ever fashioned by the minds and hands of men.

It is because the atomic bomb is such an instrument of awesome destruction that the conscience of the layman revolts at the dissemination of the secret.

Even now we have unease of conscience at the fact that we wrested this secret from nature and have used it against an enemy power. We can justify in our minds the use of the bomb against the Japanese because it shortened the war and saved lives. But as we look into the future we are disturbed by its implications and by the possible horror it can create. The scientists are themselves uneasy over the thing that they have wrought.

Let other nations discover it if they will. But let the United States, with its known humanitarianism and benevolence, not be the agency to spread its secret over the face of the earth. That is a moral obligation which we must observe. President Truman would do well if he follows what his conscience must tell him—keep the secret here at home.

—*Providence Evening Bulletin*

WHAT ARE THE FACTS ABOUT ATOMIC BOMB CONTROVERSY?

The claim of the Army bureaucrats and the politicians is that the secret of the bomb must be kept inviolate for fear evil-minded countries might get wind of it. In answer to that there comes the report of another scientific body working under wraps. This is called "The Association of Los Alamos Scientists." Their statement reads, in part:

"It is certain that nations other than the United States, Great Britain and Canada by research can produce atomic power."

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The scientists are almost universally agreed that the technique cannot be kept secret, that "the use of atomic energy must be controlled by a world authority."

Now we are told by Rear Admiral Purnell, before a United States Senate committee, that the only secret we have is a trade secret which consists of how to make the fuse that brings about explosion.

To any mechanically minded citizen of any nation on earth that is about as "secret" as the making of a gasoline combustion engine.

The war is over.

The people are entitled to know the facts.

There should be free, open, honest discussion of the new form of life that the human race must begin—or perish.

No puny bureaucrats, no bumbling internationalists, no politicians, should be allowed to stand in the way.

Most certainly no military secrets should be revealed.

But the people are entitled to know just how much the strange, mad scene represents military preparedness and how much it represents petty Army authority and sheer politics.

—Detroit Free Press

MR. TRUMAN ON ATOMIC ENERGY

President Truman could have announced an atomic energy policy of his own. He could, under his war powers, have named an "Atomic Energy Commission" to study the problem. He chose, and wisely, to share this responsibility with Congress.

The Atomic Energy Commission, when it is formed, may be able to throw light on what an improved atomic bomb might do. It will not be able to formulate an international control program. That program will be up to President and Congress. Mr. Truman's announcement that he would initiate discussions with Great Britain and Canada, and later with other nations, is a promising first step.

The President does not propose that we immediately share all that we know about atomic fission. He does suggest that we try to "work out arrangements covering the terms under which international collaboration and exchange of scientific information might safely proceed." Any sharing we do will depend on "international arrangements" calling for renunciation of the employment of the atomic bomb. In short, we are not going to collaborate with other nations in developing a weapon with which we can all blow each other up.

—The New York Times

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THE SENATE BALKS

In view of the terms of the May-Johnson bill calling for a national Atomic Energy Commission, and in view of the tactics of the House Military Affairs Committee in conducting hearings on the bill, it is not surprising that the measure has encountered opposition in the Senate.

Atomic scientists of Chicago have publicly charged that, given its way, the House committee would have restricted argument on the bill to that offered by War Department employees, who have had no direct contact with the actual scientific work, and that the committee agreed only under pressure to an additional day of hearings.

In a characteristic single-minded way, the War Department evidently believes that because one aspect of atomic energy—the bomb—is a piece of military equipment, the whole issue is best left in the War Department's hands and managed by traditional War Department methods. The War Department clearly disagrees with the scientists as to whether any power can win an atomic-armament race; the scientists believe no power can "win" and remain in existence. The War Department clearly rejects the scientists' belief that atomic energy can be kept civilized by international agreement, and only thereby.

These vital and major decisions will be made later. For now, the point is this: The American people, who employ the War Department, have given the War Department no authority to decide this fateful issue, nor so to influence hearings as to restrict the viewpoints elicited there. Given a vote, the people most probably would ask the widest possible range of hearing.

Confronted with a steamroller intention, the scientists have properly gone to the American press, and the country is again shown fortunate in having built the tradition making this recourse possible. Mr. Vandenberg acted the statesman in opposing a narrow conduct of this vital hearing, and the Senate rose to its responsibility in going along with him.

—*San Francisco Chronicle*

• Being locked in a psychopathic ward held no fascination for a deputy sheriff in California. His accidental imprisonment gave him some bad moments.

Passing attendants who heard his cries of "Let me out, I'm a deputy sheriff," smiled indulgently. Finally, we are happy to say, somebody believed him.

• Notice in a church bulletin: "Owing to shortage of manpower and limited space available, only the dead who are living in the parish will from this date be accepted for burial in our cemetery."

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Let us reconsider the facts

Problem: Palestine

By W. K. Kelsey

From his column "The Commentator" in The Detroit News

LET'S reconsider the Palestine question.

Before the first World War, Palestine, like its northern and eastern neighbors, was part of the Turkish Empire. It was conquered by a British army under General Allenby, an Arab force cooperating. But for this British operation, Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, Transjordania and Iraq might still belong to Turkey, and their Arab population be Turkish subjects.

By the peace arrangements, Palestine, Transjordania and Iraq were made mandates of Great Britain under the League of Nations. Since then, the independence of Iraq has been recognized; the other two states are still under British mandate.

Before the end of the war, British policy regarding Palestine was proclaimed in the declaration of Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour:

"His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of that object, it being understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by the Jews in any other country."

The Principal Allied Powers endorsed this program. It was greeted with particular favor in the United States, not because any great number of American Jews had any notion of emigrating to Palestine, but because the great majority of Americans knew that Jews were being persecuted in many parts of Europe, and should, therefore, have a refuge where they would be safe. What region of the world was more eligible than the Biblical land which included Jerusalem?

That land no longer belonged to Turkey; it had been conquered by the British. It was not occupied by an exclusively Arab population, for the Zionists had been sending Jews thither, and their entry had been favored by the Turks. In 1922, the Jewish population of Palestine was one-eighth of the whole, being slightly under 100,000; and there was also a Christian population of some 70,000.

This high Arab birthrate in Palestine is a peculiar phenomenon. There has been nothing like it in any other Arab country. It amounts to about 40 per cent in 20 years.

Palestine's high Arab birthrate may be accounted for in two ways —by the greater prosperity of the country, due to the establishment of flourishing industries by the Jews, and consequent rising of the stand-

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ard of living; or by the supposition that the increase is by no means due entirely to an increasing birthrate, but in part to Arab immigration, Arabs being as capable as any other people of pulling up stakes and settling where living conditions are better.

The peak of Jewish immigration was reached in 1935, when some 61,500 Jews entered the country. By 1938, it had fallen to a net of less than 12,000, and in 1939, the British White Paper fixed the total permitted immigration at 75,000 for the next five years. In that year World War II put a stop to the free movement of people; but the Arab birthrate has continued to function.

On the basis of pre-war figures, there was one Arab added to Palestine's population in the period 1920-41 for every Jew added; and if 300,000 displaced European Jews were put into Palestine in the next five years (a tremendous undertaking), the Jewish population would still not equal the Arab, with its huge birthrate. Under the terms of the Balfour Declaration, which protects the civil and religious rights of non-Jews, there would still be no possibility of a state under completely Zionist rule, with the Arabs a favor-seeking minority.

What, then, is all the fuss about? On the face of it, it arises from the fact that the Pan-Arabs want Palestine completely controlled by the Arab majority. They want the world to recognize the independence of Palestine so that it may have an Arab government, with the Jews living under its sufferance. And apparently this attitude on the part of the Arabs, both in Palestine and in Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Transjordania, Saudi Arabia and Yeman, has reduced the British government to such a state of fear that it is trying its best to wriggle out of the terms of the Balfour Declaration as it was understood by Arthur Balfour and as it was endorsed by the United States and other nations.

Many competent students of the situation declare that the Arab nations are bluffing; that there is no real power behind their demands. If military power is meant, that is true; but they can create plenty of disorder, as the insurrection of 1936 proved. This warfare went on for three years, and it was sufficient to compel the British Government to redefine the Balfour Declaration and, in the opinion of the Commentator and perhaps most Americans familiar with the matter, break its promise to the Zionists.

Officially, Britain still stands by its White Paper of 1939. But there are plenty of British experts who argue that the promises of 1917 should be kept, even though this would mean partition of the country to set up a Jewish national state. But the Arabs don't want a Jewish state on any terms. It looks as if Britain is stalling for time, and will be glad to dump the whole problem onto the United Nations Organization. Meanwhile President Truman reminds the British of the Balfour Declaration, but indicates no American responsibility in carrying it out; and the British ask, rather cogently, why, if the United States is so interested, it doesn't lend a hand. Well, why don't we?

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Books in Brief

By Jasper R. Lewis

IS THE WORLD IN REVOLUTION?

JOHN SCOTT, author of *Europe in Revolution* (Houghton, Mifflin, The Riverside Press, $3.00) lived in Russia for many years, as an artisan and as a reporter. In addition to his experiences there he accumulated a Russian wife. All of these things may give him a predilection for at least tolerance of Soviet ideology. This new book of his, however, not only seems unbiased, but at times is frankly critical of Russian policy and intelligently objective of motives and procedures.

Scott sees the Russian revolution of October, 1917, as the starting point of world revolution, some of it by force, some by peaceful means. It is the rise of a collectivist economy, seeking to correct evils of the capitalist world, for evils there have been and are, of course. There was a German economic revolution after 1918, the course of which was deflected for a decade by Hitlerism, but the evidences of a drift toward a controlled economy were apparent. In fact, fascism accelerated the revolution by terminating private property rights, which are close to extinction in most of Europe. Under the impetus of war not only Germany but the conquered nations—Finland, Norway, Denmark and even the neutrals, except Spain, have veered far to the left. Part of this movement has come from the association of communists with other patriots in the underground battle against the Nazis, with resultant better mutual understanding and tolerance. The deviation of Russian aims from the strictest Marxist principles has also lessened general animosity from outside. Even in England the shift toward the left must be admitted in the light of the recent political changes.

To Scott, all of this is really one nearly universal revolution against the dictates of yesterday, which we are inclined not to visualize because of proximity. His views on what to do with Germany are moderate: Allied control, demilitarization, etc., are essential. But de-industrialization would be a boomerang on the rest of Europe. In fact, no solution is possible unless it covers Europe as a whole, which of course entails a continental federation, utopian at present, or a working alliance of all nations.

The failure of the United States to have an intelligent European policy resulted in general distrust and misunderstanding. In an age of rocket bombs and similar devices, isolationism is a dead issue, and we must realize the continental revolution for what it is. Scott's frank discussion of the alternative of working with Russia or fighting her, either now or in 1970, is sanely put; his conclusion is the definite opinion that the two economic systems can live together, in fact, they must. Even in this country there have

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been changes which are extreme, although we call them New Deal social security measures, etc. This trend is part of the world revolution.

Beside the excellent picture he gives of the political and economic insides of the various European countries in the past six years, he contributes considerable detail of motives and aims, both of personalities and nations, some from his own investigations and questioning. While most of the book centers around the Soviet Union, it is general enough to give a fairly complete picture.

Another author, in a more passionate vein, sees a revolution in man's spirit as a result of the second World War. *European Manifesto,* by Pierre de Lanux (Creative Age Press, $2.00), is optimistic, finding in the purifying fires of two wars and the resulting sufferings the birth of a new spiritual force that will make for peace.

He speaks particularly for France; he does not insist that it be treated as a Great Power; it "can be the first among the Small Powers." The old Europe and Hitler's Europe are both gone, and the third Europe is here. This Europe must endure, and it can only do so by the joint efforts of the ten United Nations inside Europe; these are Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, Greece, Yugoslavia and France. Together they account for 136,000,000 people, plus 143,000,000 in colonies. If Russia and England join their efforts, it means 313,000,000. De Lanux purposely omits the United States; European experience since 1919 will not permit dependence on the political moods of America, although her peaceful ambitions are acknowledged.

Implementation of the alliance would mean the use of two forces; one, a small policing group, the other the full potential strength of the signatories to offset the power of any one aggressor. For the first he believes 50,000 men sufficient. The second, through the use of air power, requires fewer reserves than might be imagined. In other words, control of the air over Europe would be the keystone. The new European economy would require a ban on tariff barriers between nations, to promote active trade in all.

As for collective effort, he traces the idea back to Henry IV, and believes that the French have always aspired to such an arrangement. The only novelty in the present phase is that Russia, an Asiatic nation, and the United States, an American country, are with the French in their aims.

He sees this war as a war of independence for Europe, which entails a plea that men and nations develop the same responsibilities in international policy that they have nationally. One chapter, devoted to the American angle, reviews the history of the League of Nations and the failure of the United States to overcome the machinations of the isolationists and politicians. In the present phase he feels that Americans still do not realize the full import of the war; they won, but not having endured the terrors of the occupied nations, they are different. He might have said indifferent.

Europe now leans equally on

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England and Russia, but any attempt on the part of either to attain political or commercial hegemony will tip the scale the other way.

Through the mistakes which have been made he sees a coming revolution within man himself. "The trend of material civilization is toward collective control of the world's resources, and distribution of its wealth with less and less privilege allowed to certain classes or nations." He is eloquent about the rights of man and the need for an organized union of decent forces in international responsibility.

The *European Manifesto* is simply the author's sincere belief in man plus the realization that only by the creation of a European federation can man attain permanent peace and security.

BRIEFER COMMENTS

WAR

Andrew Roth's *Dilemma in Japan*, (Little, Brown, $2.50), is insistent on no half-way measures in the handling of Japan. Roth is a serious student of the Orient. He is blunt in his condemnation of the early attempts to conciliate the Japanese and in his fear that too many American statesmen, politicians and businessmen are overly anxious to permit a restoration of the big militaristic interests headed by the Emperor. He believes there are many in Japan who, given opportunity and security against the vested powers, will of themselves create a democratic government. Only the Japanese can make the decision to abolish the throne, but the Emperor can and should be tried as a war criminal. Some of Roth's fears may be allayed by now through measures already taken by MacArthur for the lifting of the oppression of the masses. Even as he cautions against too light a control, he also gives encouragement by his opinion that not all Japs want to die for the Emperor. He gives a detailed picture of the cross-currents of politics in Japan before the war for a better understanding of the problem. Opinions on his conclusions will differ; none of us know the AAA priorities which will guide our government in its regulations. But events so far seem to be solving the dilemma at least partly in line with his views.

Strangely exciting for all that it has no combat, and none of the so-called glory of war, *Persian Gulf Command* by Joel Sayre, (Random House, $2.00), is the doings of the outfit whose job it was to move supplies across Iran (Persia) to the Russians. Through 140 degree heat, with strange native labor, men lived and did their jobs well, hanging on to their sense of humor and sense of values. Sayre makes a little gem out of the telling.

A whole volume of mystery stories is *Spies and Traitors of World War II* by Kurt Singer, (Prentice-Hall, $2.75). These are, however, fact stories; the author has traced out some of the methods and personalities of the German secret service, headed by Admiral Canaris, and besides giving a good insight into

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Nazi underground activities, he has narrated the plots in the best thriller style.

MICE AND MEN

The part that minerals and other natural resources play in war-time, and their potentialities for peace, are explained in *Minerals of Might,* by William O. Hotchkiss, former president of Rensselaer P. I., (Jacques Cattell, $2.50). The world's resources of these critical items are discussed, and the control of world power through the control of supply advocated by Dr. Hotchkiss as a means of preventing future wars. He recommends also building a stockpile of the most vital war metals as insurance against World War III.

The Building of the Burma Road by Tan Pei-ying, (Whittlesay House, $2.75), is the recital of the events which pointed the need for a back road into Free China, and of the heart-breaking struggle of Chinese to construct it. Pei-ying was the engineer in charge, and he tells his troubles simply as a human interest document. Modern equipment played but a small part; the hands and backs of men, women and children made it a success, partly lost temporarily to the Japs in 1942, but in any event an important link in Chinese resistance.

The measures taken either to save life or safeguard it during the war are discussed non-technically in *Out of Carnage,* by Alexander R. Griffin, (Howell, Soskin, $3.00). The story of medicines, plasmas and germ-fighting drugs is told with some detailed cases, but some of the devices worked out by the National Inventors' Council for the protection of service men or for their rescue are of equal interest. This is a readable summary of some of the unpublicized efforts to salvage human life.

A collection of horror pictures with descriptive text, is *This Must Not Happen Again,* by Clark Kinnaird, (Howell, Soskin, $2.00). Its sub-title of The Black Book of Fascist Horror aptly describes it. The inhumanities practiced by the Nazis, the Japs and the Spanish of Franco may be too dreadful to look at, but they must not be forgotten.

Quite regularly a short piece on the editorial page of *The New York Times* takes one to the pleasures of farm life or woodland. Now a number of these have been collected in *Country Flavor,* by Hadyn S. Pearson, (Whittlesey House, $2.75). Pearson has authored the delightful essays for some years. The chores, cookery, everyday toils and rewards are lightly sketched, and some culinary description and tips tantalize the reader. Photographs make an attractive setting for the book.

Strictly speaking, the title of *Secrets of Industry,* by Lewis C. Ord, (Emerson, $3.00), is a misnomer, as most of the "secrets" are open ones, at least in America. Ord gives some of the reasons for the success of big business here, the high wages and the high standard of living. His object apparently is to induce his native country, England, to emulate our industrial policies, but Americans also can get a good perspective of our industrial set-up from the book.

The importance of government control of lands to prevent soil erosion is covered in *Food or Famine, The Challenge of Erosion,* by Ward

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Shepard, (Macmillan, $3.00). The author served in the National Forestry Service and is now a conservationist in the Indian Service. By means of text and illustrations Shepard argues that only firm control can prevent a serious crisis in the future, and that, while bodies like the T. V. A. can do remarkable work, they do not have sufficient governmental authority to co-ordinate the needs of communities.

POLITICAL

One of the hardest tasks in writing seems to be that of biography of a living public figure. *This Man Truman* by Frank McNaughton and Walter Hehmeyer, (Whittlesey House, $2.50), proves the point. If it was prepared as a success story for teen-agers it might have answered nicely. It overpraises its subject so that even those Republicans who scorned him last year but later grudgingly admitted he was an average American, won't recognize him. Much of it is plain balderdash.

Another try at the same task is *The Man from Missouri,* by Cyril Clemens, (Mark Twain Society, $2.00). While not as effusive as the former and more restricted to facts of Truman's career, it is still more a campaign booster than a critical biography.

FICTION

The old story of the adventures of Samson, culminating in his tragic betrayal by Delilah, is told in *Prelude to Delilah,* by Vladimar Jabotinsky, (Ackerman, $2.50). It is well told except for one brief portion devoted to episodes strung loosely together, but the main theme, particularly the earlier years before Delilah's treachery, is romantic and moving.

Alice Tisdale Hobart portrays life in Mexico some 30 years ago in an absorbing novel, *The Peacock Sheds Its Tail,* (Bobbs, Merrill, $2.75). The conflict of the aristocrats with the revolutionary ideas of the times, the admixture of the romance of an American diplomat with the belle of the story, and the broader scene of the struggle between reform and reaction, are combined to make it not only a skilfully told but an instructive volume.

Robert Standish will understand and forgive: his newest book, *The Small General,* (Macmillan, $2.50), is so delightfully Chinese that the reader forgets it has been written by an Occidental. It is the story of a duck farm and a mulberry orchard; of suave Chinese bargaining; of Japanese treachery — not war — and Chinese patriotism, not in words but in the queer and effective methods by which they gain their points. The Small General is the son of the house, and as boy and as man he is an endearing figure. Under the plot the baneful spread of Japanese commercial aggression quickens to life, but so does the Chinese counter-influence. The loss of face of the Japs will bring chortles of pleasure to the reader, particularly in this year of their downfall.

• Mule: An animal who boasts that his ancestors were horses.

—*Quote*

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The Theatre Arts

By John Gassner

MISCELLANEOUS data on the international front may be of interest to those of us who care about the theatre. Abroad, it is noteworthy that those of our recent plays that were meaningful to Americans are meaningful to the English public. John Patrick's *The Hasty Heart* and Paul Osborn's dramatization, *A Bell for Adano,* are successes in London. However, it is also significant that the top-notch English critics still go back to the Edwardian theatre for their standards, and perhaps this is what is wrong with the British drama, which brings us no surprises for all the labor that goes into Edwardian dramaturgy. For the distinguished Ivor Brown, *A Bell for Adano* is not so much a play as a part (that is, the part of Major Joppolo), while the Arts Theatre's revival of Pinero's old play, *The Thunderbolt,* which deals with the synthetic situation of a family squabbling over a will, is the *summum bonum.* Mr. Brown is profoundly impressed: "a piece as solid and serviceable as a mahogany sideboard," and regrets that playwrights no longer build that kind of furniture: "This is a real piece of work, with narrative quality carefully developed and every character given point as well as fullness."

Concerning this, Americans can sum up their case by quoting what Heine said about a popular romantic poet to whom our Longfellow paid the compliment of translation: "Uhland's poetry is like Bayard's horse. It has every conceivable virtue, except that it is dead." We prefer plays that are alive, even if they lack every conceivable dramaturgic virtue; plays like *A Bell for Adano,* which draws inspiration from a man's goodness and tenderness toward people, *I Remember Mama, Harvey* and *The Glass Menagerie.* The notable critic of the London *Times,* James Agate, is even more disturbed. The Sicilians' difficulties when a martinet closes the road to the town's water-carts elicits this querulous note: "Has Sicily no buckets?" Besides, he is disturbed that a major should be called Joppolo. "Why, lastly, call the hero of any play Joppolo?" Mr. Agate has tried all the variations, including "Floppolo, Moppolo, Sloppolo, Woppolo . . ." only to arrive at the conclusion "Too much of a handicap to lay on any actor!"

It is evident that the Tory *esprit* must be preserved even under a Labor party government. It is also evident that until another Shaw arises in the tight little island, the English drama is going to be tethered to class snobbery and Victorian propriety so long as the arbiters of British taste have anything to say about it. This is to be so even after a second holocaust, even if the English commoner is still wearing rags, even if the country must have Lend-Lease if it is to keep its head above water. Benighted, vulgar

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Hollywood can turn out democratic films like *G. I. Joe,* dedicated to the foot soldier sloshing in the vulgar mud, and *Pride of the Marines,* which concerns itself with such earthy matters as a common marine's rehabilitation. The vulgarians of Broadway can content themselves with the comedy of a drunkard who is attached to an invisible rabbit (a very common quadrupet), with the seedy *Glass Menagerie* family, with the unpleasant racial conflicts of *Deep Are the Roots.* But, good form, in manners and in play-making, is still the thing for His Majesty's England.

There is also the French theatre to be noted. The dreadful Nazis are gone, the traitors have been punished, the Left has won the elections, French honor has been reclaimed, the underground and the uprising in Paris proved the time-honored vitality of the French people. But the theatre is still the property of the boulevardiers and the intelligentsia. We can dismiss the former, since they are merely celebrating the return of normal times, and the Parisians cannot conceive a theatre of entertainment that isn't balanced on a sex triangle. But where is the intelligentsia? Well, back in Greek mythology and in the traumas of the delicate spirits that view the world with disgust. A new world to be built out of the wreckage of the old? By no means. More of this some other time. For the present let me merely note that decadence is still the morass which suits the French intelligentsia best. It is a beautifully ordered morass, but a morass.

It is evident that the war hasn't changed the European theatre, which remains largely decadent, and that, for the present at least, the Western Theatre can be truly alive only in America. Whether it is as alive as it could be is, however, most questionable. But the chance is here, and apparently nowhere else at present, and this makes our own bumbling all the more painful. Although there has been no bumbling in the case of the films *Pride of the Marines* and *G. I. Joe* or in *Deep Are the Roots,* an entire month has gone by without providing examples of sufficient competence. British critics are right in this one respect—their constant demands for competence are wholly justified as a means, if not as an end.

The recent productions of *Therese Raquin* and *The Assassin* are lessons in incompetence. In its day, Emile Zola's *Therese* was a work of importance both as a novel and a play. It helped to usher in the reign of realism. Zola defined the purpose of this melodrama when he dedicated his work to the study of instinct; and recognition of animal instinct at work and in conflict with man's social conscience was long overdue after decades of romanticism and Victorian prissiness. His purpose, Zola maintained, had been to take "a strong man and an unsatisfied woman, to seek in them the beast, to see nothing but the beast, to throw them into violent drama, and to note scrupulously the sensations and acts of these people." In short, to undertake a clinical operation, to do "on two living bodies what surgeons do on a corpse." Because Zola and his colleagues of the 1890's had performed the operation so successfully, it is perhaps no longer needful

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to revive plays like *Therese*. But if they are going to be revived in order to provide parts for actors and to make money, the revival must at least retain the integrity of the original. It may well be that an adaptation was necessary, since Zola's 1890 idiom and play structure leave much to be desired in 1945. Moreover, some special adaptation to our times or environment would be needed for anything but an academic revival.

Thomas Job's adaptation was not, however, the answer. Its characters remained no deeper and no less remote than in Zola's original play. If they had to be stuffy people—since the story concerns a segment of the bourgeoisie—they should have been living examples of stuffiness instead of faded daguerro-types. If their story is a melodrama of passion, murder and remorse, the adaptation must constitute either a fast-moving thriller or a hard-hitting, sordid psychological drama. The story involves the murder of a fatuous husband by his wife and a painter, who boards with them, their effort to live with his mother out of a feeling of regret and a desire to cover up their crime, their involuntary self-betrayal to her when the guilty lovers marry and are tormented by their past on the bridal night, the paralysis of the old mother from shock, her presence in their household as a pathetically lurking Nemesis, and her denunciation of the crime at long last. Their married life becomes a protracted agony, they torture each other, and the painter reaches a state of mind in which every picture he paints bears a resemblance to the murdered man.

It should have been child's play to draw the threads together into a gripping drama. The binding element should have been the living reality of the personalities so involved. Those personalities, however, could come to life only if we were made to understand them in relation to their environment or conditioning; if we understood the reason for their having to murder the husband instead of simply going away together, for not getting rid of the mother but keeping their Nemesis so close to them, and for the exceptional intensity of their self-torment. This would justify the play in terms of relevance to our interests, would constitute significant psychological social drama, would strengthen character motivation, and would order the individually strong situations in a driving sequence of dramatic tension. The alternative would have been an Elizabethan poetic drama on the order of *Macbeth,* in which elemental passion and remorse acquire towering stature, and in which case the characters would have ceased to be little people in mean surroundings and become symbols of human instinct. All Thomas Job managed to achieve was a middling treatment: except for the old woman, superbly played by Dame May Whitty, his characters were neutral personalities — neither beasts nor heroes—neutrally performed by Eva Le Gallienne, Victor Jory and other normally able actors. And Job's story was equally neutral—neither melodrama nor tragedy, neither a revelation nor a transfiguration of passion. Job drew the fangs of Zola's beast. Savagery became tame, and sordidness merely commonplace,

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in the American adaption of Zola's shocker. Whatever power will be found in the play—and there is still more than in most English plays—derives from the grim details of Zola's work that did not need adaptation: from the paralysis of the victim's mother and from the artist's ability to drive the features of the murdered man out of his subconscious, which makes every painting a portrait of the victim.

A second disappointing illustration of how badly our theatre needs to supplement its kinetic strength with competence, if the strength is not to be dissipated, is the case of Irwin Shaw's *The Assassin*. Darlan was murdered by a royalist, and Mr. Shaw dramatizes this fact into a story of revolutionary and counter-revolutionary intrigue. Surely an important theme full of possibilities, even if the psychological moment for the production of the play was two years ago! Surely, too, Irwin Shaw, author of *Bury the Dead* and *The Gentle People,* as well as of many remarkable short stories, was qualified to make something of this historic incident! The ingredients are present in *The Assassin*. The play provides an expose of the villains who tried to use our invasion of North Africa as a stepping-stone to power and hoped to frustrate the return of liberalism to the Western World. They are opposed by the democratic underground, a united front of socialists, communists and liberals, joined at last by a young monarchist. The latter assassinates the Darlan of the play and later refuses to save his life at the cost of enabling another would-be Darlan to climb into the saddle. By then, moreover, the young man has shed his infantile, romantic monarchism and acquired faith in the will of the people. "We live in a confused time and we are saved by confused heroes"—words to this effect from a revolutionist in the play supply the clue to the story of Robert de Mauny, whose deed removed the threat of Darlanism on the eve of Allied victory. And to this Shaw adds such worthy observations as the importance of a united front for freedom and our need to go beyond party programs or labels straight into the heart of men; to believe in men of good will, to place good will above every fragmentation of people into partisans.

In *The Assassin,* we witness the cruel power of passion and aspiration that makes the American theatre infinitely more alive than the refinements of London and Paris. Irwin Shaw's play should have succeeded. It has substance, meaning, force. Only craftsmanship or dramatic structure is absent. It is not one play but several. No single theme is sufficiently dramatized. Everything is merely sketched and laid side by side. This being so, Mr. Shaw has had to resort to a special kind of glue to hold the parts together; the situations are held together by oracular speeches, lest their meaning and the purport of the play as a whole be lost as a result, with the consequence that the play fails on the level of melodrama and fails on the higher level of drama of ideas. It reminds us of those antiquated masters of dramatic intrigue, Scribe and Sardou, and it simultaneously recalls the greater Shaw, G.B.S., now in his ninetieth year.

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But those men did one thing at a time. When Sardou wrote a melodrama he saw to it that nothing would interrupt the flow of action. When G.B.S. wrote a drama of ideas he saw to it that the audience's mind was undeviatingly fixed upon the spire of ideas. The lesser Shaw who wrote *The Assassin* tries to play two games at the same time, and plays neither game well enough. Moreover, the play was so butchered in the process of being revised and cut and was so poorly staged and acted that it became a shambles.

Equally disappointing was the fumbling in Theodore Reeves' extraordinarily promising but unfulfilled play, *Beggars Are Coming to Town,* which was, however, graced by far better production owing to superb scenic design by Jo Mielziner, generally good direction by the mentor and historian of the late-lamented Group Theatre, Harold Clurman, and an affecting performance by Paul Kelly, who should be seen more often on Broadway. Dorothy Comingore, erstwhile heroine of *Citizen Kane,* also turned in a genuine performance, though a less expert one than she could have delivered upon longer acquaintance with the three-dimensional stage. Luther Adler, though too reminiscent of the Group Theatre mannerisms, was worth watching for his calculated technique; Herbert Berghof gave a most finished performance as a continental head-waiter; and George Mathews, playing a run-down mobster, was a delight throughout. Segments of the play were remarkably vivid, and there was something more than pathos to the dimly discernible thread of the story: A released convict of the prohibition era, who gave 14 years of his life to cover his partner, returns to a world in which crude predatory heroism is displaced by a facade of corporative business. He learns slowly that his world has vanished and discovers that what has supplanted it is more legal but actually cheaper and more corrupt, devoid of personal loyalty, lacking in even the primitive integrity he had known in the hi-jacking period, and utterly unworthy of a man's respect. A bitter, devastating commentary is implicit in the fable, and the story of how he gives up his claim to the fashionable Avignon night-club that grew out of his speakeasy has the ingredients of high-grade drama.

It is, unfortunately, more fascinating to watch how these ingredients are wasted than how they are used. The play alternates between moments of passion or revelation and long dullish periods, between moments charged with the potential energy of drama and longish exposition and explanation. Worse still, no sooner has a scene approached a climax than it is vitiated by anticlimax. Anticlimax may be precisely the point at which the play aims when it dramatizes the mobster's return and his disillusionment, so that some anticlimatic scenes have a reason for their presence. If we are to have satisfactory drama it is necessary, however, for the anticlimaxes to build all the more forcefully toward climaxes, especially to the one final climax or dénouement that must compensate for a sequence of descents or let-downs for the gangster hero. The mobster at the end does turn away contemptuously from his cheating partner's hoity-

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toity but obsequious and hollow world, a world consisting of paper relationships. But the climactic fault of the play is precisely that the ending is hastily contrived, and that it fails to crystallize as a substantial peak of drama. The construction of the play, already wobbly for two and three-quarter acts, topples completely in this fuzzy dénouement. The mobster gives up a world he has already lost, renounces claims he can no longer make effectively, and establishes a new vantage point of personal integrity without sufficient foundation for both that integrity and the love that is to sustain him in the cold world. This love of the mobster and a cigarette girl could have been superb but becomes attenuated and fugitive in the crucial parts in which it should have served the function of opening the bedevilled hero's eyes and heart.

The past month has supplied other instances of incompetence even more excruciating. The errors of *The Assassin* are, for instance, incomparably slight when one turns to *Polonaise,* a musical comedy intended to glorify Poland's struggle for freedom under Kosciusko with assistance from Chopin's music. Surely, a worthy subject, infinitely preferable to the lavish and "cute" girlie-shows turned out by England's Ivor Novello. But the results have been twice as horrible as anything that has probably ever emanated from an English music hall. The great Kosciusko has been turned into a rubber stamp romantic in an inept story, Chopin's music has been orchestrated into a dullard's compositions, the ballets look like parodies on choreography intended to end the ballet for all time, and the forced injections of humor by a comedian who at one point tries to climb up on a tall princess are as unfunny as *The New York Times'* stock market listings. And wasted on this atrocity are Jan Kiepura and Marta Eggerth. Mr. Kiepura is as uncomfortable in his role as he would be in a straitjacket, and it is only Miss Eggerth's invincible feminity that saves her from the same fate. And with this most horrible example our moral is complete. We shall simply have to become more judicious and concentrate our powers on being able craftsmen if our stage is to take advantage of its natural resources.

ROTTEN LUCK

• In the course of one of his lecture tours, Mark Twain made a stopover at a small California town. Before dinner he visited the barber shop for a shave.

"You're a stranger in town, aren't you?" queried the barber.

"Yes." Twain replied. "This is my first time here."

"You choose a good time to come," the barber continued. "Mark Twain is going to lecture tonight. Think you'll be going?"

"Oh, I guess so," said Twain.

"Have you bought your ticket? If you haven't, you'll have to stand, 'cause everything is sold out," warned the barber.

"Doggone," cussed Twain. "I never saw such confounded luck. Every time that fellow lectures, I have to stand."

—*Capper's Weekly*

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HIGHLIGHTI

International Scene

The war with Japan had only been over for a few months when fighting broke out once again in the Far East. In one instance communists were seeking power and in the other native nationalists were fighting for independence. The end of the war did not bring peace to China or to her neighbor, Indo-China, and nearby Java.

CHIANG KAI-SHEK AND MAO TZE-TUNG DISAGREE

Civil war in China became a reality on October 28. The conflict, supposedly averted by the agreement signed between Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek of the National Government and Mao Tze-tung, Communist leader, early in October after long weeks of negotiating, flared with a vengeance in north China. With the help of the United States Seventh Fleet, Chiang rushed government troops from the south, where they had been receiving the surrender of Japanese troops, to southern Manchuria, where the Communist Eighth Route Army was entrenched. Fighting soon spread to 11 provinces in China, and Central Government and Chinese Communist spokesmen saw little hope of reaching an understanding. The Communists want a political settlement before they lay down their arms. The government in power wants the military question settled first.

The Central Government, at this writing, is being favored by the United States and Russia. General Chou En-Lai, number two Communist leader, objected to the activities of American military forces in China. "We consider there is no necessity at all for the United States transportation of Kuomintang [Central Government] troops to areas which the Communists have recovered from the Japanese." Russia likewise is giving Chiang's forces the right of way. After "most cordial" discussions, she agreed to the landing of Chinese government troops in Manchuria.

Formerly it was hoped that the 400,000,000 Chinese were nearing unity. Through Russian and American efforts, some progress had been made in that direction. In the Russo-Chinese Treaty of August 14, 1945, the Soviet Union recognized the Nationalists [Kuomintang] as the government of China, thereby weakening Communist hope for Russian help. The United States, having backed the Central Government as a military measure during the war, extended its good offices to the two sides for the agreement mentioned above. These efforts, only temporarily effective, have not solved the problem.

NATIVES REVOLT

For the last four or five years, Asiatic natives have been nurtured on the principle, "Asia for the Asiatics", which the Japanese found expedient to foster in the establishment of the Co-Prosperity Sphere of Greater Asia—

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specifically the Japanese Empire. Even though their "independence" would have been a Japanese fairy tale, these peoples are reluctant to give up the idea of freedom and go back to their former status as European dependents.

The first revolt broke out late in September in Indo-China. The Annamites, seeking immediate independence and opposing the return of French rule, staged a violent uprising centering around the capital city of Saigon. Aided by the presence of British and Chinese troops, the French forces attempted to restore order. France has expressed a desire to bring self-government to Indo-China as the political maturity of the various peoples allows, with an Indo-China federation eventually being in the French commonwealth of nations what "Canada and New Zealand are in the British commonwealth." At present France and China are negotiating an agreement re-affirming French political rights in Indo-China.

Fighting broke out in Java about the same time the Annamites revolted. An "Indonesian Republic" headed by Dr. Achmed Soekarno, which had been proclaimed in August by the Nationalists, was the basis of the revolt. Appeals were sent out to the people of Java: "The people prefer peace and order, but the battle against the Dutch is a battle wished by God". And fight they did. The commander of the Indonesian People's Army called for all-out guerrilla warfare in the Batavia area while British troops, ordered in by Lieutenant General Sir Philip Christison, commander of the Allied forces in Java, spread over the rest of Java to prevent further uprisings. The bearing of arms, the refusal to surrender arms, sabotage and looting were declared punishable by death by Allied authorities. It was reported that some 15,000 Indonesians, many of them heavily armed, confronted British troops in the Surabaya area. But from all indications, the actual fighting was nearly over early in November. Soekarno, who said the Indonesians did not consider the Allies but the Netherlands Indies civilian administration as their enemy, ordered on October 31 a "cessation of all opposition to the Allies".

Permanent settlement of Indonesian grievances was another question. A Netherlands proposal for partnership in the Netherlands Empire was rejected on October 18. Dr. Mohammed Hatta, Nationalist vice president, declared that "not for a moment will Indonesia countenance any form of colonial status." However, Dr. Hubertus J. van Mook, Acting Governor General of the Netherlands East Indies, is prepared only to offer dominion status in the imminent negotiations.

THE HAND OF JUSTICE

On October 18, an indictment was handed to the International Military Tribunal in Berlin. In it, the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and France charged 24 German war leaders with participation in the plot against peace and humanity conceived by Adolph Hitler.

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Never before have men been called upon to answer for such crimes on so vast a scale. The principle behind the indictment is unprecedented and fraught with future implications: individuals of a defeated nation could be held legally responsible for such public acts as wars of aggression and the policies which precede them.

The crimes, coming within the jurisdiction of the tribunal for which there is to be individual responsibility, are divided into three classifications. (1) Crimes against the peace-planning or waging a war of aggression or war in violation of international treaties. (2) War crimes—violations of the laws or customs of war. (3) Crimes against humanity—inhuman acts committed against any civilian population, before or during the war.

Among the top Nazis facing trial are Goering, Hess, Von Ribbentrop, Ley (who has since committed suicide), Keitel, Rosenberg, Streicher, Funk, Schacht, Von Neurath and Von Papen. Further, the prosecution has requested that seven organizations be declared "criminal in purpose." These include the Leadership of the Nazi party, the Elite Guard, the Storm Troops, the Gestapo and the General Staff and the High Command of the German armed forces.

DIVIDE AND RULE

The first session of the Far Eastern Advisory Commission opened on October 30 without Russia and adjourned temporarily soon after in an attempt to give the latter an opportunity to join in the deliberations. The idea of the commission itself originated at the meeting of the foreign ministers in London from Russian criticism of American policies in the occupation of Japan. The Russians proposed joint control, such as exists in Berlin, but the United States compromised on the establishment of an advisory council. For this, early in October, Secretary of State Byrnes invited nine nations interested in the Far East—Great Britain, the Soviet Union, China, France, the Netherlands, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the Philippines—to Washington to act in an advisory capacity. Major General Frank R. McCoy, retired, is the American member of the commission.

Russia, however, withheld acceptance to Byrnes' invitation. She re-iterated her desire for the establishment of a four power Allied Control Council in Tokyo before the functioning of the advisory commission. Late in October, after Ambassador W. Averill Harriman visited Premier Stalin, who was vacationing in the Caucasus, and gave him a message from President Truman, hope for Russian participation rose. At this writing, Secretary Byrnes has made it clear that Russia is no longer insisting on the joint control council for Japan. President Truman, on the basis of a reply from Stalin, has declared that he expects Russia to join the Far Eastern Advisory Commission in short order.

"DESPUES DE LA GUERRA"

South Americans, like the people in every other country, are facing an after-the-war period of re-adjustment. Although their economic situation

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is better now than at the end of the last war when economic hardships set off a number of revolutions, there is restlessness in many of the countries.

ARGENTINA

Colonel Juan Perón was forced to resign as Vice President, War Minister and Labor Secretary of Argentina on October 9, 1945. The Argentine military dictator was supposedly out for good. But in a week's time Perón was firmly back in power once more, marking another triumph for militarist, nationalist and fascist elements.

Perón's stay in the Martín García concentration camp was brief. The group of younger army officers under General Eduardo Avalos, who had brought about the temporary change, had failed to take several things into account. They had underestimated the strength of the labor unions which Perón had created or seized and, instead of establishing themselves firmly in power, they had quarreled among themselves over methods. Eight days after his downfall, Perón rode back to power on a wave of strikes and disorder. Perón normalcy had returned.

Toward the end of October, the United States Senate confirmed the appointment of Spruille Braden, former Ambassador to Argentina, as Assistant Secretary of State for Latin-American affairs. Braden is an exponent of a hard policy toward Perón.

VENEZUELA

In Venezuela, too, the young army officers staged a revolt. Here, however, they were successful. Supported by the Acción Democrática, a mildly leftist group, these officers began the revolt in Caracas, the capital, on October 18, and in a few days' time ousted the government of President Isaías Medina Angarita. The Medina administration had been a liberal one but it was a part of a self-perpetuating machine which had supplied Venezuela with military presidents since the death of Gómez. The only real party of opposition, Acción Democrática, saw little opportunity of replacing the regime in the presidential election scheduled for April, 1946.

The new Venezuela government, headed by the provisional president, Rómulo Betancourt, was officially recognized by the United States on October 30, hardly two weeks after the initial uprising. Most of the other Latin American countries, as well as Great Britain, have also granted recognition.

Venezuela sells the world more oil than any other country except the United States.

BRAZIL

Unlike Argentina and Venezuela, the change of leadership in Brazil was not marked by fighting. On October 29, General Getulio Vargas resigned as President of Brazil, a position which he had held since 1930. His forced resignation was due to the withdrawal of support by the Army, Navy and air force. In an interview with an American correspondent,

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Vargas announced that his return to politics "depends entirely upon events."

Chief Justice José Linhares automatically became Brazil's fifteenth president under the 1937 Constitution. Upon being sworn into his new office, he stated that the presidential elections would be held on December 2 as scheduled.

LEFT SWING

French men and women went to the polls on October 21 for the first general elections since 1936 to determine the future of France. They voted on two measures; the election of 586 delegates to a National Assembly and, secondly, the powers of the assembly—whether it shall write a new constitution for the French Republic. An overwhelming majority in the assembly was won by three parties, 434 seats out of the 486, definitely left of center—the Communists, the Socialists and new Mouvement Republicain Populaire ("conservative with a progressive program"). The oldline conservative party, the Radical Socialists, which dominated French politics before the war, won only 25 seats.

TO EVERY MAN HIS DUE

Pierre Laval, wearing the white tie which he had made famous, faced the firing squad at noon on October 15 and a few hours later lay in a traitor's grave in the potter's field in the Thias cemetery south of Paris. When notified of his imminent execution that morning, Laval gulped down some poison which he had kept on his person for more than a year but, with the aid of a stomach pump and a few hours' rest, he was able to meet his fate as sentenced.

ATOMIC CONFERENCE

British Prime Minister Clement R. Attlee went to Washington on November 11 "in order to discuss with President Truman and the Prime Minister of Canada the problems to which the discovery of atomic energy have given rise." Neither Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin nor anyone else not associated with atomic research accompanied by Mr. Attlee. This indicates that the discussions were primarily confined to the subject of the atomic bomb and not to the Anglo-American vs. Russian bout at the recent meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers in London.

The Domestic Scene

At few times in history is a nation confronted with a multitude of major policy decisions which will determine its future destiny. The end of 1945 saw the United States forced to decide the pattern of American living for at least the next decade. There were many issues to be solved—our relations with other countries, our future military program, atomic energy control, the government's position in our economic life, the rights of labor and management.

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The problems were present; the answers were lacking. Of President Truman's 21-point program offered to Congress on September 6, only one—the relatively innocuous Surplus Property Disposal bill—had been passed by November. The proposals were opposed; no alternative solution was offered. The present inaction and lassitude appear to spring from the number of problems to be solved. The "do nothing" line of least resistance was too tempting to ignore entirely. Someone once described the "normalcy" of the Harding era as the only time in our history when a feeling of tiredness was exalted to the status of a national policy. The signs indicate that the people are again tired.

TOO HOT TO HANDLE

The usually publicity-shy, close-mouthed scientists of the country were shouting in protest. So effective were their pleas that Congress took notice.

The object of dispute was the May-Johnson bill, designed to control and regulate the development of atomic energy. Congressmen knew little more about the atom than did the layman, and their efforts to deal with the new force pointed up the novelty of the problem with which they were confronted.

In double-quick time the House Committee heard testimony on the control bill. Experts on the subject were not invited to speak their piece. The May-Johnson measure would give sweeping powers to a nine-man, part-time board. Members of the Atomic Energy Commission would be appointed by the President with senatorial approval. The Commission would have power to seize property needed to develop atomic energy, authority to control raw materials, subsidize or forbid private research, direct government research and impose drastic penalties on anyone divulging information on atomic energy.

Reaction of noted scientists was not slow in coming. They saw in the bill an attempt by the armed forces to use atomic energy for nothing but military purposes, to the detriment of research for peaceful applications. They were fed up with Army censorship and bungling. They thought that the concept of control completely ignored the real nature of pure research, which, they contended, cannot be strait-jacketed by requirements prohibiting the interchange of ideas. The emphasis upon secrecy they considered illusionary, since in five years time or less any other nation which so desired could discover for themselves all pertinent facts.

A successful clamor was raised to re-open the House Committee hearings. Sixty leading educators, scientists and civic leaders—including Albert Einstein, Dr. Harlow Shapley, Leon Henderson, Raymond G. Swing, Norman Cousins, Leo Cherne, Professors Robert MacIver and Allan Nevins—sent a telegram to President Truman urging "full and extended" public hearings on any legislation pertaining to atomic energy. They characterized the May-Johnson bill as "vesting the greatest powers ever delegated in American history to a government administrator re-

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sponsible neither to Congress nor to the President." The scientists intimately connected with the creation of the atomic bomb issued a statement condemning the bill and calling for international control of the atomic bomb.

On October 30 the House Military Affairs Committee recommended the May-Johnson bill to the House. Though it had whittled away some of the more obnoxious features of the original measure, the opposition declared that it still carried to a "fantastic degree the grant of authority." A stiff fight was expected on the House floor.

ARMED MIGHT FOR PEACE?

People knew that sooner or later the administration would plug for universal military training. It was sooner. The first definite hints came when General Marshall issued his biennial report on October 9. The argument was the familiar one that only by strength can we have peace.

The Chief of Staff warned that if this country laid down its arms again it would be inviting a "disaster" that would make World War II look like child's play. "The only effective defense a nation can now maintain is the power of attack." He urged the establishment of a universal training program which would enable the country to mobilize an army of 4,000,000 within one year after any international crisis. To those who contend that new weapons such as the atomic bomb make huge land armies obsolete, the General replied that it takes men to man the machines of war, that it was not until huge armies landed in Europe and were able to capture enemy positions that the power of Germany was broken.

The Marshall plan called for a small but highly professional regular Army, backed by a citizen army. He claimed that this program would provide the manpower for a "healthy and strong" National Guard and organized reserve. General Marshall declared that State Department officials agreed that if the United States makes plain to the world, before peace negotiations are concluded, its intentions to maintain a strong citizen army, it "would greatly strengthen the hand of the United States in securing a genuine organization to handle international differences."

Thus was the age-old problem of military strength and foreign relations once again before the public. Those who agreed with the administration pointed to the fact that the Army, under almost hysterical pressure to "get the boys home", is discharging men at the rate of 1,000,000 a month, while draft recruitments number only 86,000 monthly. With occupational commitments both in Europe and Asia, with the experienced administrators being rushed out because of points, the situation was serious. Marshall said: "Demobilization has become, in fact, disintegration, not only of the armed forces but apparently of all conception of world responsibility and what it demands of us." Proponents of conscription maintain that in the next war this country will not have a year in which to prepare; the United States has been the deciding factor in the last two wars, and any

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aggressor who can read history would prefer to knock us out first before we had time to become "the arsenal of democracy."

Opponents, which include many noted jurists, educators and labor leaders, say that the very fact of conscription shows that the Charter is dead, that we haven't yet given it a chance to work. Conscription in one country, they maintain, can only lead to a disastrous armament race in every country. The atomic bomb has made obsolete mass armies, and if this country would devote its energies instead to a strong international government and the idea of collective security, we might for the first time achieve real peace. Those opposing the administration on universal military training say, in addition, that one year is not enough time to teach anything of military value and the net result would be little more than a dangerous sense of false security.

President Truman took up Marshall's cause and on October 23 stated the administration's official policy on military training. Appearing before a joint session of Congress, he urged immediate legislation, warning that enactment or rejection of his proposal might prove the difference between our survival or destruction.

The President's plan called for every young man to enter "training either at the age of 18 or upon his graduation from high school, whichever is later, but in any event before his twentieth birthday." Mr. Truman insisted that his plan should not be confused with "military service" or peace-time "conscription." His recommended post-war military organization would include a comparatively small regular Army, Navy and Marine Corps and a "greatly strengthened National Guard and Organized Reserve for the Army, Navy and Marine Corps." These reservists, he maintained, would have no obligation to serve either in this country or abroad "unless and until called to the service by an Act of Congress."

President Truman insisted that the program indicated no lack of faith in the United Nations Organization, but rather would show this nation's determination to carry out its commitments to the rest of the world. "We can insure such a peace so long as we remain strong. We must face the fact that peace must be built upon power as well as upon good-will. . . ."

Congress was notably cold to the plan. There was no indication that it would make haste to enact the recommendations. Surprisingly enough, even the public was remarkably silent. Everyone seemed to have developed a "wait and see" attitude. An Associated Press poll showed that 25 Senators approved of the plan; 19 were opposed, and 40 were undecided and in no hurry to make up their minds. It is highly probable that this proposal, like so many of President Truman's, would become hopelessly lost in the graveyard of congressional committees.

FRUITS OF VICTORY

For the first time in 16 years, the taxpayer could feel glad as he watched Congress handling a tax bill. Eleven major revenue measures have been passed since 1929, and all were bad news for the public. Now the trend was reversed; taxes were going down.

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The opening gun was fired when Secretary of the Treasury Vinson asked for a $5,000,000,000 tax reduction bill. Who were Congressmen to refuse him? But Vinson and the House Ways and Means Committee refused to see eye-to-eye on who should get the benefits. Vinson urged repeal of the three per cent "normal" income tax, which would take 12,000,000 happy persons off the tax rolls. He advocated repeal of the excess profits tax and, by next July, of the war-time excise on furs, jewelry, transportation and cosmetics.

The House committee, however, distributed the cuts differently, weighting the favors on the side of business. It voted to reduce the excess profits tax rate to 60 per cent, but refused to abolish the three per cent normal tax. For this they substituted larger exemptions for individuals paying the tax and a reduction of the surtax rates. By proposing that every taxpayer would get a reduction of at least 10 per cent, the committee extended to all levels the relief which Vinson would have concentrated mainly in the lower brackets. Since revenue bills are passed in the House without amending the committee proposals, Vinson concentrated his attack on the Senate.

The Senate Finance Committee came through nobly. It voted to repeal the war-time excess profits taxes on business, to release 12,000,000 individuals from the tax rolls, but not to guarantee at least a 10 per cent cut for everyone. The committee, however, refused to give consumers relief from war-time excise imposts on goods and services. The final Senate bill gave $5,788,000,000 in tax reductions, as compared with the House bill of $5,350,000,000. Any reduction beyond $5,000,000,000 Vinson had termed dangerous.

The conference committee successfully ironed out the differences, and the compromise measure made glad reading. It cut taxes by $5,920,000,000, repealed the war-time excess profits tax on January 1, struck 12,000,000 tax-payers from the roll by increasing exemptions, lowered corporate taxes, abolished the automobile "use" tax, and exempted the service pay of enlisted personnel of the armed forces from income taxation, and gave them and officers three years in which to pay deferred taxes. The conferees, however, decided to continue war-time excise taxes, which will disappear six months after the President proclaims the end of hostilities.

WAGES, PROFITS AND POLICY

As many minor labor disputes were settled, the major conflicts and issues remained to plague the nation. When labor and management appeared stalemated, everybody looked to Washington for the government's policy. Finally President Truman spoke out.

The President's speech of October 30, however, settled nothing. As an expression of pious hopes it was good; as a key to unlocking the door to prosperity, it didn't seem to fit. He advocated "substantially" higher wages but ruled at the same time that prices must be held stable.

One valid point, obvious but often forgotten, was made by Mr.

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Truman. A blanket policy cannot apply to all industries. The economic factors of every business alone can determine the amount of wage-increase which the business can profitably allow. Because of greater productivity, the abandonment of over-time pay in most industries and great tax refunds to business, many enterprises, he said, can afford the higher wages which will be necessary to prevent deflation, which is a real danger because of the $20,000,000,000 annual drop in "take-home" pay. But to prevent the twin peril of inflation, Mr. Truman said that labor must abandon its claim for a 30 per cent wage increase. Government economists maintain that industry can afford a 24 per cent increase without higher prices. No method was suggested, however, to make either business give the increase or labor settle for less than its original demands. The labor-management conference, meeting in Washington during November, fell heir to this dilemma.

An example of the impasse was evident during the discussions between the United Automobile Workers and General Motors. From the first the company was put on the defensive by the aggressive tactics of publicity-wise Walter Reuther, representing the cause of the union. He first demanded that the negotiations be open to newspapermen, so that the public could get a clear picture of the talks. General Motors officials balked. Then Reuther issued a long list of facts and figurers, purporting to prove that General Motors could grant a wage increase and make a fair profit without raising prices. If the company could prove otherwise, said Reuther, the union would gladly scale down its demands.

General Motor's answer came in a statement by president Charles Wilson, who called the demand of 30 per cent wage increase "unreasonable and inflationary." He countered with a proposal that the only way to increase pay to war-time standards is to adopt a 45 or 48-hour week during the post-war reconversion period of high consumer demand. This longer period, he said, would increase production by 20 per cent and permit the country to pay higher wages without increasing profits.

The fundamental difficulty lay in insistence on different economic factors. The unions considered high wages and increased purchasing powers as the touchstone of prosperity; management looked primarily at profits to encourage business and lower prices to sell their goods. Labor contended that workers must receive more money for less work to keep up purchasing power, spread the work around and thus create full employment. Management insists that full employment can be had only by making goods as cheaply as possible. They do not admit, as does labor, that technological improvements and tax concessions allow high wages and low prices simultaneously. Regardless, however, of who wins the present struggle, all signs indicate that the consumers, the new "forgotten man," will come out on the short end.

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. . . And None So Blind

The mountain reads the stars, and is not moved,
The meadow takes the telling script of birds,
And rests beyond whatever the telling proved—
What, to the hill and field, are oracular words?
The mountain knows, as it has always known,
The shape of self against the changing sky;
The meadow, that is daisy and a stone,
Is stone and daisy,—with the birds gone by.

With what composed integrity these two,
Disposed in fluid time, in haunted space,
Reside in what they are, and know it true . . .
And man, alone, in agony will trace
The script of stars, the ignorant birds, to find
The truth that is himself—and none so blind.

DAVID MORTON

After Long War

Now, widely over the quickening world of men,
Down the avenues of the mind, the hundred joys,
Absent for long, and strangers, are back again,
Noisy and awkward, a street-full of turbulent boys;
With foolish fun, and meaningless gesture, and talk
With neither beginning nor end, the joys in the mind
Are leaping and running, that just as well might walk,
On nameless errands, and have but themselves to find.

The name and the nature, the meaning and sure intent
Are known in heaven, where all the names are one,
Where man is forgiven, again, and what is meant
Is the same that is meant by flowers that joy in the sun,
By love in the lane, by song that is idle and sweet,—
Name it joy . . . or love . . . or God . . . or boys in the street.

DAVID MORTON

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• A columnist in the Tokyo *Yomiuri Hochi* tells how Yanks in a streetcar ordered Japanese men to give their seat to women, and then passed cigarettes to the unseated men. Murmured the columnist: "It is most embarrassing when American soldiers have to teach us even this bit of good manners."

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FORUM FEATURES

One reason for the failure of the foreign ministers' conference, discussed by **Sidney B. Fay** last month, was the uncompromising nature of the policies set forth by the Soviet Union. These policies, particularly those relating to Europe, are discussed in this issue by **Michael T. Florinsky,** of Columbia University. Born in Kiev, Professor Florinsky has written a number of books on Russia—**End of the Russian Empire, World Revolution and the USSR, Toward An Understading of the USSR,** among them—and has been working for the last ten years on a history of Russia, due for publication in 1946. In the January FORUM he will discuss Soviet policies in Asia.

Author of "Planning for Freedom," **Mark Starr** is the educational director of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. At present he is in London as an adviser to the United States delegation at the conference to set up an International Education Office, as envisaged in the UNO charter. His article in this issue is based upon a lecture given in Philadelphia earlier in the year and some parts of it appeared as a report of that lecture in **The Standard,** the organ for the Society for Ethical Culture.

W. A. S. Douglas, ("Swarm Prom"), of the Chicago Sun Syndicate, is one of two living men who have won commissions from the ranks in both the British and the United States Armies. In the newspaper field, he was a correspondent in the Spanish Civil War and in France and Great Britain during 1939 and 1940. Since then Douglas has made three tours of duty as a European correspondent for American newspapers and has served the London **Times** in Mexico and South America.

The authors of the Forum on privileged officers have both been in active service. From a promising career in journalism, **Max Knepper** joined the Navy in June, 1942, as a seaman first class. After almost two years of active duty in the South Pacific, he was transferred to the East Coast and the **U. S. S. Fogg.** In December, 1944, his convoy was attacked by German subs and the **Fogg** "took a 'fish.'" The ship had to be towed to the Azores where Knepper was injured. In May, 1945, he was honorably discharged, leaving the service as a yeoman first class.

Lt. William Speck defends privileged officers. After graduating from the University of Chicago Law School in 1942, he was called to active duty as an apprentice seaman V-7 in August, 1942. Six months later he was commissioned ensign and in the spring of 1943 was assigned to the **U. S. S. Murray,** also newly commissioned. On the **Murray,** Speck participated in every major Pacific operation from September, 1943, to the surrender of Japan. During this time he served as assistant gunnery officer, assistant first lieutenant, damage control officer, assistant communication officer and finally communication officer, in addition to collateral duties of education officer, librarian, censoring, coding, court-martials and casualty reporting officer.

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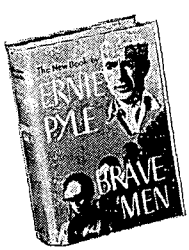

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